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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

2. The HINDU, of the 23rd October, writes:--

"Wilful Murder

The Punjab massacre

"We published yesterday, the full text of counsel's opinion on the Punjab criminals It is a document that will repay careful study coming as it does from some of the ablest British jurists. The local champion of the Dyer-hards went into mild hysterics over it and pretended to see in it nothing but the latest development in the 'hounding' of that much-maligned hero, General Dyer. It also attempted to discount the value attaching to the opinions of so eminent a lawyer as Mr.Upjohn by assuming that the conclusions were based upon one-sided and perverted premises. A study of the full text will show that counsel have not gone a hair's breadth beyond the facts conclusively established. . . It is some satisfaction to the Indian public, whose resentment over the wrongs of the Punjab is an undying flame, to know that from the legal point of view at least murder could still be murder when perpetrated upon men of an 'inferior' race. Nor is the legal mind hyptonised by the magnitude of the crime into accepting its very vastness as a palliating circumstance. Neither does massacre become an 'error of judgment' because done in the name of law and order and the orgy of bloodlast and cruelty that marked the restoration of the blessings of peace in the Punjab is called and will be called, all the whitewashing commissions and weak-kneed Governments notwithstanding by its right name. Justice is not afraid to call a massacre a wholesale murder. But what about the reparation? . . . . We notice that counsel have confined themselves to the question of a prosecution in England. We have before suggested, and we think the All-India Congress Committee

ought seriously to consider the feasibility of, a prosecution in the Indian courts. The offence took place in India and it is here naturaly that the trial ought to take place."

NEW INDIA of the 25th October, has the following:--

"Legal opinion on the Punjab.

"The full text of the legal opinion taken in England in respect of the Punjab offenders, which we published on Saturday, shuts out practically the last gleam of hope of obtaining redress through the English Law Courts. The conclusions reached by counsel strike one as remarkable for the strictly judicial temper in which they have been conceived. . . If an impartial trial could be guaranteed even the enormous costs, which counsel put forward as a consideration, should not, and perhaps would not, stand in the way of seeking justice in England. It should be remembered that counsel drew up their statement before the Government of India had closed the chapter with the expression of their disapproval of the 'improper and injudicious' action of several of these officers and before the Viceroy's speech relegating the events of last year to the 'verdict of history' and appealing to both sides to forgive and forget had reached England. Their advice, therefore, that retribution should be sought through the Government of India is superfluous. There remains the question, which has not been considered by them, of obtaining legal redress in India. But Pandit Motilal Nehru has expressed the opinion which would probably be shared by the majority today that such a consideration, in view of non-co-operation, would be awaste of thought. So with General Dyer, the rest of the Punjab question is at last 'hounded' out of view, to pass into the domain of history. Today, the impotence of the agony of the Punjab may express itself in non-co-operation. But when both the powers conferred by the Reforms and the futility of non-co-operation are realised, the Government may reap the bitter fruits of the policy pursued by Lord Chelmsford. The hatchet, with the blood of hundreds of defenceless Indians on it, cannot be so easily buried."

3. The HINDU, of the 26th October, has the following:--

Repression

"Apparently statement, which recently went a round of the press that the Government had decided on repression in order to combat Mr.Gandhi's movement, was well-founded. We are not surprised at the fact for it is entirely in keeping with the time-honoured policy of our rulers to tinker with the symptoms of unrest and leave its root causes severely alone. The old weapons are being furbished anew to assist in ushering in the Montaguite millenium and, as will appear from a telegram elsewhere, the Punjab, having the most reason to be sore, ~~monstrous sentences, fre~~ is to be the first to receive the ministrations of the 'strong' men of the Government of India. Recently prosecutions and their inevitable sequel, monstrous sentences, ~~and wildness of which only reflected~~ for speeches that at the worst might have been verbal indiscretions the strength and wildness of which only reflected depth of feeling, have shown which way things were tending. While the men who were at the bottom of the trouble, who have succeeded thoroughly in their task of destroying India's faith in Britain, have been left in peace to enjoy the wages of their service, the Government have now apparently set themselves to eliminate the consequent unrest by attempting to suppress its symptoms. We have been assured times without number by our-tin-gods that we were at the threshhold of a golden age, that the weary feet of this stricken land had at last been set upon the rosy path of self-government. It is true these assurances did not find acceptance at face-value but one hardly expected that the tinsel would peel off so early and the golden age resolve itself into the too familiar one of big doses of repression accompanied by a camouflage of reform. If anything were wanted to complete the disillusionment, the gap would be most effectively filled by this new orientation. We appear to be entering on the old familiar round of unrest and repression more unrest and more repression and thus merrily on to a repetition of the Punjab tragedy and the disruption of the

British Empire. We wonder how our moderate friends envisage the prospect. . . What are gxix they going to do now? They have enough experience to know that repression grows by what it feeds on just as they know that mere repression will never kill unrest. Since to them, thanks to Mr.Gandhi, is left the duty of demonstrating India's fitness for self-government under the Reforms act it is for them to consider how far the policy of repression will second their efforts, and whether if repression has come to stay that blessed word co-operation would not have lost much of its charm. As for the objective of this new offensive, Mr.Gandhi's movement, that curiously enough will have cause to bless the ineptitude of a Government which is determined to see that it shall not suffer for lack of occasional and powerful impetus."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in East Africa

6. Remarking that the Indians in East Africa are gradually being deprived of their rights, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 22nd October, refers to an Indian there having been recently prohibited from alienating his land and, observing that such action on the part of the British, who entered on the war of for the sake of righteousness, affecting the very fundamental rights of men, only betrays the nature of their race, asks whether Lord Chelmsford is going to tolerate this too.

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Indians and Europeans in foreign countries.

10. Remarking that the recent events show that the attitude of Europeans has taken an evil turn after the last war, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th October, observes:-- The whites, puffed up with the idea x that the whole world is under their control, demonstrate the superiority of their race in the countries governed by them and harass the subjects there in several ways. The fuss of these whites is really indescribable especially in the Colonies, such as South and

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East Africa and Fiji. Further, as the whites there are uncultured and are intent solely on making money, they treat the Indians and others there worse than brutes. To quote a recent instance, Mr.Ismail, one of the candidates to a seat in the Corporation of Capetown was declared invalid at the last moment, on account of non-payment of a certain tax, and a European was selected to the place. It is not known under what provision, of law Mr.Ismail was rejected. The British Ministers are merely talking of self-determination, liberty and fraternity and neither they nor others of their class appear to have understood the real significance of these words. It is a great disgrace to us that civilised Indians have to go to the Colonies in search of living and be treated there brutishly by the whites. If India obtains SWARAJ, would we tolerate all this? Will Indians realise the need for SWARAJ at least from this and strive for its acquisition?

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Non-co-operation

21. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th October, publishes a communication from a correspondent in which the following observations occur:--Our non-co-operation movement, which was characterised as 'the most foolish of all foolish movements' 'anarchic', and 'unconstitutional' is now watched with great anxiety by English newspapers. Those, who were making fun of it and gloating that it would be shortlived, have now realised that we are not indulging in mere talk but have began to act. The space that is now devoted to this movement by the Anglo-Indian papers demonstrates its strength clearly. That weapon is the most powerful which makes the enemy shudder. English papers received recently from England show that they are afraid of this movement. So it is certain that the fortress of the bureaucrats will totter and come down, if we continue our work with redoubled interest.

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The LOKOPAKARI comments on the non-co-operation movement in its issues of the 19th August, and 9th and 16th September,

Non-co-operation

and, while coming to the conclusion that the movement cannot succeed in India as there is no union here among the people or among their leaders, thinks that it will serve as a warning to the British Government to realise that the Indians have woke up and their aspirations can no longer be ignored. It opines that the passing of Mr.Gandhi's resolution on this subject by the Congress will operate prejudicially on the Congress, the public and the country and that India is not at present in a condition to adopt Mr.Gandhi's suggestions.

Remarking that Mr.Gandhi has ordained resort to non-co-operation only because the long-expected reforms have after all proved to be a day-dream, what have been granted now resembling but a toy offered to appease a crying child, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th October, says:--Instead of being afraid of the consequences of getting off from the control of the bureaucrats, it is better to face danger boldly once. During the Punjab trouble we were treated worse than dogs. The Mussalmans are greatly perturbed in mind. Unconstitutional laws are hovering over us. No India who sees all this will refuse to abide by the non-co-operation principle. One disregarding this movement will not be deemed to be an Indian by his community. Brethren! Be up. By taking the road of patience, under the leadership of Mr.Gandhi and armed with the weapon of non-co-operation, we can surely break through the fortress of the bureaucratic obstacles and their wily ways, redeeming the Khalifa, attain the salvation of SWARAJ.

The DESABHIMANI, of the 10th October, (received on the 23rd) gives in Telugu the rules of non-co-operation,

Non-co-operation

and also the proceedings of a meeting held in connexion with the birthday celebrations of Mr.Gandhi at Guntur on the 8th October in which several persons spoke. One speaker is reported to have spoken on the life and character of Mr.Gandhi; another

to have dwelt upon the Punjab 'atrocities', and to have stated in the course of his speech that the present Government exist only in the interests of the rulers, and not of the ruled and will not last very long unless soon modified to suit the interests of the ruled, and that the non-co-operation movement which has created a stir in England also will soon secure us SWARAJ if enthusiastically adhered to; a third, while moving a resolution calling upon candidates for Legislative Councils to withdraw and voters, not to vote, is reported to have exhorted the ryots and school boys to resort to non-co-operation; and two others to have sung verses in honour of Mr.Gandhi.

Non-co-operation

Referring to the opinion about 'Non-co-operation' of the Commissioner of Boy Scouts of Agra and Oudh, of the PALL MALL GAZETTE, and of the Moulvi Jafar Ali Khan, the editor of the ZAMINDAR as set forth in his statement before the Magistrate, the GODAVARI PATRIKA, of the 5th October(received on the 16th) observes:--There is much truth in the opinion of the editor of the PALL MALL GAZETTE. Our readers can understand the value of the opinion of the Commissioner of the Boy Scouts on a comparison of it with the above. The statement of the editor of the ZAMINDAR points to a real grievance of the Indians. No accused has ever before made such a bold statement. The rulers and Mr.Montagu should ascertain the causes that lie at the bottom of it and set about their duty. We fully concur with the editor of the PALL MALL GAZETTE in his view that the grievances of India must be once more impartially examined. We regret that the discussions in the Parliament betray on the part of the members an ignorance of Indian affairs. . . The Parliament places faith with the reports of the officers on the spot.

Non-co-operation

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 23rd October, in the course of an English article writes:--"Mr.Gandhi's speech at Lucknow is a remarkable one. He says that 'God and the devil cannot co-operate' and as long as devilishness exists in this kingdom,

we commit sin, if we co-operate with devils. His anathemas against Government titles, schools, colleges, law courts, councils and foreign goods are unmeasured, Non-violence and AHIMSA are preached. The sword is a forbidden thing. Mr. Gandhi says, however, that we have become cowards, because we have been deprived of our arms. He looks upon non-co-operation as a more powerful weapon than the sword. Mr. Gandhi does not admire the doctrine 'Half a loaf is better than no bread.' His policy is to fight for a full loaf is bound to triumph in the end. Though he is a great advocate of non-violence, he administers a warning to the rulers about their women, children, etc. We see in his speech contradictions, but they are contradictions into which a patriot, identifying himself with the woe of his countrymen, is bound to fall. Many Indians seem to disagree with him. But most of these agree with him in the heart of their hearts. They say openly that, if thereis unity among the Indians, a whole loaf falls within the range of practical politics. They also say at the same time that the question of stomach and the craving for luxuries makes them take a side far from patriotic. Mr.Gandhi's Lucknow speech indicates a distinct departure from AHIMSA and non-violence in the policy of non-co-operation."

Non-co-operation

The QAUMI REPORT, of the 19th October, discussing in a three column leader the present situation of Turkey and the Holy Places, appeals to the community to take part in non-co-operation and remarks that it is absolutely unlawful for Mussalman to set his face against the Divine Commands or to separate himself from the Muslim community for fear of incurring the displeasure of any race of foreigners.

Non-co-operation

The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 21st October, has an extract from the AGRA AKHBAR on the marginally-noted subject in which the writer discusses the subject at length and concludes with these remarks:--We do not say that you should not stand on your own legs, we do not wish you always to lead

a life of servitude, but we do desire that until you become strong yourselves, you should give no offence to the powers that be which constitute your prop. You should not undermine the pedestal on which you stand. If you do, you have to fall into a pit from which escape will be impossible.

This being so, it asks the people of India to pause before adopting non-co-operation.

Europeans and Indians.

22. Remarking that it is a stain on British justice that liberal amounts have been granted to the families of Europeans who suffered during the Punjab incidents, while only meagre amounts have been given to the families of the Indian sufferers, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 23rd September, says that, as long as the officials in India act on the impression that they belong to the ruling class and that the Indians are their slaves, the statement that India is governed for the Indians is but a false tale.

Europeans and Indians

Adverting to the long standing complaint, that an invidious distinction is made in this country in the treatment accorded to Europeans and Indians in Government employ, and, remarking that even when an Indian is doing the same work that was being done by a European, the former has to do it on a less pay, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th October, refers to Mr. Lambert having been paid a salary of Rs.2,000 a month by the Government of Bombay for his work in connexion with the preparation of voters' lists and an Indian, who is now doing the same work, being paid only Rs.300 and observes:--For a work that can be done by an Indian for [appointed] a European on Rs.2,000 at the beginning nor is there an immensity of money in India to warrant such a lavish expenditure. Apart from this, why should the Indian, who is satisfactorily attending to the duties of that European, be paid only Rs.300? We regret very much that it has become quite common in India for the Government to pay liberal salaries voluntarily to men of their

own race and to recruit Indians on poor salaries.

The labour movement

23. In a leader on this subject the TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd October, quotes with approval the view of Mr.J.H. Thomas, who is said to be the foremost of the labour leaders, that this movement is religious in character and is the only one that can afford relief to sufferers and observes:--In the beginning it is religious teachers that ruled over the world. As these committed atrocities under the cloak of religion, they were beaten by the warriors, who assumed the reigns of Government. As the latter conducted the administration in a selfish spirit, without caring for the benefit of the people, the merchants competed with them in view to secure liberty and acquired power and they continue to predominate still. The next turn for power will be that of the SUDRAS, the fourth caste, comprising labourers, and it is they that will rule over the world hereafter. So the labourers should act boldly and honestly.

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Sir Ali Imam

26. Adverting to the appointment of Sir Ali Imam by Lord Chelmsford as India's representative in the League of Nations, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th October, is at a loss to know on what principle this appointment has been made and says:--Has Lord Chelmsford decided to confer this post in succession on the Indians who were members of the Viceroy's Executive Council under the Minto-Morley scheme? Sir Ali Imam succeeded Lord Sinha and is Sir C.Sankaran Nayar to succeed the former? Though Sir Ali Imam was once the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is well known that he worked against the league on a sub sequent occasion. We are seriously afraid that no benefit will result to India by his being on the League of Nations.

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27. Remarking that the present time pre-eminently required unselfish workers, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th October,

The present situation

observes:--Waking, after a long slumber, ten or fifteen years back, the country found that its condition was one of slavery and immediately resolved to get rid of this slavery. A serious agitation having been started as a result of this resolution, the bureaucrats, who are bent upon keeping us slaves for ever, tried to stifle the movement by force. The people also endeavoured to win liberty by using physical force. But as, owing to long inaction, the physical force of the land of BHARATA could not be concentrated by the people, mother BHARATA could not obtain SWARAJ even then. The means now used by her is soul-force, which is superior to physical force. She has inculcated the principle of SATYAGRAHA through Mr.Gandhi and it is now spreading throughout the country. But heroes imbued with this principle are needed to accelerate its propagation, if the people of the land of BHARATA are to ~~requir~~ acquire SWARAJ for which they are yearning. The excitement in this country now is almost the same as appeared in Europe during the middle ~~century.--But the~~ of the last century. ~~We~~ But the Government here, in their ignorance of the secret of this movement have decided to put this down by means of fetters, imprisonment rifle and shot. We thought that this idea would have disappeared with last year. But if, as reported ~~that this~~ by a correspondent to the ADVOCATE OF INDIA, it should be the intention of the Government to put down the non-co-operation moment deeming it to be disloyal, we regret very much for it, not for our sake but for England and the Government which represent her. If, understanding aright the the significance of this movement, England grants SWARAJ to India as early as possible, she can have India as her dear companion in life and settle justly and equitably all the intricate questions that have arisen in the world. If, on the other hand, an attempt is made to crush this movement, which will only create a ~~spirit~~ split between the two countries,

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it will no~~t~~ longer be possible to keep the land of BHARATA in perpetual slavery. Whether ~~x~~ this news be true or not, volunteers with the sole idea of working for the acquisition of SWARAJ are needed in every place and every street to lead this movement to victory. These should possess resoluteness of purpose, undaunted courage, patience and soul force and should not care in the least for any kind of repression. It is not only men but also women that should take up this work of propaganda in connexion with SWARAJ and they should work like fire and electricity and create the thirst for liberty in the minds of all people.

The present situation

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd October, publishes a cartoon in which elephant of SWARAJ is shown as being chained in an enclosure and the lion of the true son of mother Bharata as looking fiercely at this brethren (depicted as dogs) being attracted by the crumbs of political reforms, titles and appointments thrown by John Bull.

The present situation

In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 26th October, takes a breif survey of the present situation, states that all the steps in constitutional agitation except the last have been exhausted and that the people of India are constrained, by the absence of an alternative, to have recourse to 'non-co-operation' and proceeds to observe:- The present condition cannot be set right unless the rulers understand the root-causes thereof and remove them. Last year's occurrences in the Punjab show that if 'repressive and not mild' methods are adopted, the situation would become more critical. To repress peaceful endeavour by brute-force is short-sighted Such a policy has not met with success anywhere or contributed to the happiness and contentment of the people. So long as a repressive policy was pursued in Egypt, the conditions had been critical. SWARAJ has been promised to Egypt and the people are now contented. The policy adopted in Ireland is

case in point, as also the treatment accorded to the English workmen. There is unrest to be seen wherever we turn our eyes. The world is longing for reconstruction and new problems are cropping up. That the employment of brute-force cannot afford a satisfactory solution has been made clear by the career of General Dyer and others. A versatile genius that can steer with care and vigilence, at this critical juncture, the affairs of the Empire and adopt righteousness as the chief means for the purpose, must spring up. It has been made clear that Mr.Lloyd George is not able to cope with this situation. As Mr.B.Houghton observes in the INDIA, 'Government by the people is the only means to prevent the entry of Bolshevism into India. To bring about this, the system of Government in India must be thoroughly recast. Will the British wake up betimes and venture to bring about this change'? All parties in India recognise that, in justice to her, she must have complete SWARAJ. If the rulers also recognize this and conciliate the ruled, there will be everlasting amity between the rulers and the ruled. If they fail to do so and have recourse to repression, the people can soon secure SWARAJ, if they courageously carry on their resolve without swerving from the path of righteousness. It is understood that the new movement cannot be slighted and that it is spreading apace among the people. Speedy progress is being achieved not only in the matter of the boycott of the councils, but also in the matter of national education. The adoption by the rulers at this juncture of strong repression may only contribute to the spread of the movement. May English leaders like Colonel Wedgewood understand the real situation and work to see their countrymen discharge their duty!

Colonel Wedgewood on India

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28. Expressing its satisfaction at the approaching visit of Colonel Wedgewood and Mr.Ben Spoor to the Nagpur Congress, and at the opportunity they will have of seeing for themselves the fitness of the Indians for Home Rule, the

SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th October, quotes the remarks said to have been made by Colonel Wedgewood during his interview with St.Nihal Singh on the eve of his departure to India, among which the following observations find place:--The object of my visit to India is to tell the Indians that 90 per cent of the British public do not approve of the atrocities of Dyer and the rest that support him are only English traitors, full of German qualities. We are at one with the Indians in condemning wretches like Dyer. Certain individuals, puffed with military arrogance, have set out to defame the glory and prestige of the British in the eyes of the world and they are the enemies of England. Fear of deportation will not deter me from speaking in India as I do in Parliament. I am prepared to risk even my life. It looks as if retrogade Britishers are tobe found only in India now. Still I am not afraid.

The present political situation in India.

29. In a continuation of its leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th October, makes the following observations among others:--The foremost thing to be considered in the present political situation of India is the power of the nationalist party and the next item of importance is the Hindu-Moslem unity, which is our mainstay. Those carefully following the history of the land of BHARATA for the last 40 years know very well how anxiously British authorities have been working to prevent this unity. Still, is their power superior to that of the times and of God? The latter have established this unity in view to secure liberty for mother BHARATA. Who can resist it?

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Non-co-operation

30. Referring to the suggestion made by the ADVOCATE OF INDIA that Mr.Montagu should declare in Parliament that India can improve her position only through the reforms, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd October, observes that there is no doubt that the non-co-operation movement has created

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some fear in the minds of the British in England and of the Anglo-Indians in India and adds that, though the paper noted above might have been imposed upon by the glamour of the reforms, Indians will never be satisfied with these paltry reforms and that nothing short of complete SWARAJ will give them satisfaction.

The TAMIL NADU, of the 3rd October, has the following running comments on this subject

The non-cooperation movement

--In Italy, the time has come for even labourers to become capitalists and conduct the administration themselves and this the labourer there has achieved without making much noise. In our country, even influential Indians have no privilege whatever in the administration and the people have no medicine to alter or impede the policy of the administration. Our people again do not know the disease they are suffering from. If the mind is all right, it leads one to inconceivable bliss. But if it gets affected in the least, no other instrument is necessary to spoil one. Our mental disease is the result of fear and, like my people, I am also afraid much. I am quite happy as long as I am in my hour; but when I get out I am afraid of the policeman and his dress and I strive at sight of everything that represents Government. This administration does not suit me. I cannot grow in it. As long as there is fear in my mind, I am not a man and I have no cheer. How can I have anything to do with a thing that has a contrary feeling to mine? If I intend to befriend the Government of India and co-operate with them, I will share only the fate of the small fish which, attempting to befriend the big one, is eaten up by the latter. So I do not care for that, which creates fear in me. What does it matter for me what the position is of the Government that creates such a fear? The Government exist only for me and not I for the Government. Can my help be expected for an institution which impedes my progress and is at the root of my destruction? A thing which disheartens and afflicts me, I will deem only to be an illusion and will

~~will~~ not do obeisance to it as God. There is no love between a slave and his master. The Government have no regard for me, and why should I have any regard for them? In broad daylight some European soldiers murdered my Muhammadan brother Habibullah. One of these was tried and acquitted. Should I co-operate with this Government still? Is my brother, Habibullah, or the Government conducted by the English soldier who killed him and his brethran more valuable to me? Surely it is Habibullah. I will never seek the friendship of the soldier who killed him; but I will try to teach him a lesson. That is what myself and my countrymen are bound to do. On this account I and my countrymen will not co-operate with the Government of India until our misery is relieved.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th October, and the NAVASAKTI, of the 20th October, publish the ~~of the ext~~ substance of the lectures said to have been delivered by Mr.Gandhi and Mr.Muhammad Ali at Lucknow on the 15th idem on this subject, and the DESABHAKTAN refers in its leader of the 20th idem to the remarks of the New India on the speech of Mr.Gandhi and writes:--

Mr.Gandhi has stated that a DEVA and an ASURA cannot co-operate and that co-operation is a sin as long as the characteristics of an ASURA predominate in this Government. The NEW INDIA asks whether the DEVA of Mr.Gandhi permits the use of the Postal and Telegraph facilities afforded by this ASURA. Our rememberance is that it is Indians that pay for the post and Telegraph and other facilities in the country and even Englishmen do not say that they have provided them for us with philanthropic motives at their own cost. Therefore, as we use a thorn to remove a thorn, we are now utilising these facilities to achieve our object and there is nothing laughable in it. The NEW INDIA is bewildered at the observations of Mr. Gandhi about arms. Is it an untruth that England has wrested our arms from us and destroyed our valour? Would England have ventured to treat us so meanly, if we have the strength of arms now? Has India given a solemn promise that she will

never take up arms, whatever iniquities may be committed? If she has not taken up arms now, it is due to the complete faith she has in the weapon of non-co-operation full of soul-force. Our people have begun to assert that they will not co-operate with the Government, unmindful of the inconveniences to wich they may be put as a result of it, because they are not able to prevent the commissions of evil deeds in the country, by means of words, petitions and protests. As the bureaucrats say that they are governing these people only in the interests of the latter, the former should satisfy the wishes of the latter, without resorting to deception or force, when these (the people) demonstrate, by their resort to non-co-operation, their conviction of the necessity of introducing certain changes in the administration . If the bureaucracy, without satisfying the wishes of the people in this matter, adopt repressive measures, is it not natural for the people to resort to force? We are surprised at Englishmen finding fault with the observations of Mr.Gandhi about the trend of human nature when they have themselves supplied even weapons to all nations that strove for liberty. The NEW INDIA characterises as mischievous the statement of Mr.Gandhi that the people will not resort to force as long as the non-co-operation movement is not blocked. No one needs be told that, if the natural course of a big flood is stopped, it will lead to breaches in different directions. But when the authorities seem to be inclined to block the course of flood in spite of previous experience on several occasions, is it not proper to point it out to them again? Neither Mr. Gandhi nor his followers intend to threaten any one. If it is a crime to call a spade a spade, they are indeed guilty. But the world and the future will deem them alone to be the sincere friends of the Government. So it is our prayer that the Government should, in their own interests and those of this country, note the words of Mr.Gandhi and his followers well and enable the country to get rid of its grievances by granting it Home Rule.

31. Referring to the news that Sir Valentine Chirol is to visit India soon, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd October, observes:--When we heard the news, we seriously suspected as to what his object could be in coming here. We have not forgotten how this great man came here on a previous occasion when the situation was critical and returned with glee after collecting from the authorities here all the materials required for writing his book entitled "Unrest in India". So we doubted whether he now comes in a quasi-official capacity to guage India in the present stressful period and the ENGLISHMAN of Calcutta has published an article to confirm our suspicion; for it says that Sir Valentine Chirol is sent to India by the LONDON TIMES. Under the circumstances it is necessary for every one to prevent his spying into our secrets.

Sir Valentine Chirol's visit to India

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Referring to the visit of Sir Valentine Chirol, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd October, says:--It is not known whether Sir Valentine will now make Mr.Gandhi, the subject of his venomous enquiry, instead of Mr.Tilak. But he can write anything of Mr.Gandhi without the fear of the latter dragging him to a court. We presume that he will be a guest in Government houses all through his stay in India and we recommend even now to Mr.~~Gandhi~~ Lloyd George that he should necessarily be made a Peer on his return to England.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th October, also writes in the same strain, and hopes that Messrs. Ben Spoor and Wedgewood who are coming to this country would acquaint the western nations of the true state of affairs here.

33. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd October, quotes extracts from the legal opinion given by three British barristers at the request of the All-India Congress Committee on the advisability of taking action against the Punjab officials and observes:--India can never forget the atrocities committed by the English officials in the Punjab; nor can the Indians pardon

British Barristers on the Punjab incidents.

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the British until the perpetrators of such atrocities are taught a lesson. As the authorities in the Punjab afflicted and teased the people only on account of their contempt for the latter as a ruled race, it is the duty of the Indians to ascertain whether as a ruled race they have the same privileges as other British subjects or not. It is with this view that the All-India Congress Committee called for legal opinion, the barristers consulted have now stated that, though there is no proof to show that Sir Michael O'Dwyer permitted or abetted the commission of the atrocities in the Punjab, General Dyer is guilty of 'wilful' murder'. We do not see what objection the Government can have, in the face of this conclusive opinion, to take action against General Dyer. These barristers say that, though the English Indemnity Act might give protection to General Dyer regarding the Jallianwalla massacre, no Indemnity Act can exculpate him in the matter of the 'crawling order'. As the Government are not inclined to launch a prosecution against General Dyer even on this clear opinion, they are only demonstrating that, like their officials, they too do not care for the feelings of the Indians. But the Indians will be deemed to have lost their honour if they do not bring to book those that insulted and afflicted the people, and, as they have no other way to compel the Government to bring such persons, to trial, they are not bound to co-operate with the Government. Though the barristers view that the offence committed by the other officials in the Punjab are punishable both in India and in England, it looks as if they are afraid that the British jurors may not, out of racial sympathy, do justice. If the British people will not be inclined to do justice to the Indians, we cannot do anything else than cease to co-operate with them and put an end to all trade relations between them and us so as to teach them a lesson. Therefore we will deem this to be a strong proof in support of the decision of the Special Congress at Calcutta that we should resort to non-co-operation.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd October, also refers to this subject and, expressing its surprise at the conclusion of the British barristers that an action will not lie against Sir Michael O'Dywer for the 'iniquitties' committed in the Punjab during his time, remarks:--It is a world-known fact that the administration of Sir Michael has beaten the most fiendish administrations mentioned in the Indian PURANAS and yet the British laws do not permit his being deemed guilty. In ancient days, the kings acted on the ~~pxxpl~~ principle that the mistakes of the subjects reflect on the king. But now everything is done contrary to this. As regards General Dyer, even though we may take action against him in England acting on the opinion of these barristers, the question is whether this wretch, who killed hundreds of ~~xx~~ people, will be given a sentence of death. If even that justice is not to be had, what is the use of spending thousands of rupees in English courts of law? But it is certain we cannot have this justice. So there will be no use in taking action in England on any of the Punjab heroes. The impression of some of us that it is only the bureaucrats in India that act contrary to British justice and that true British people will act impartially is after all a delusion. There is no separate thing like British justice on the banks of the Thames. ~~There is no far separate thing like British justice on the~~ Those who come for appointment in India and those who are in England belong to the same race. If there is such a thing as British justice, why should not the Government of Whitehall cancel repressive laws like the Rowlatt Act, which are contrary to that justice ? Further, was not the nature of British justice clearly demonstrated during the debate on Dyer in the House of Lords? So we have really no confidence in British justice. If India is to have SWARAJ soon, the only way of securing it is to take to non-co-operation.

38. Quoting a statement of Sir William Meyer in London that, though the machinery of the reforms is uncouth, it can

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work, provided mutual good will and confidence are guaranteed, but that the difficulty lies in securing this good will and confidence, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th October, remarks that the real situation does not seem to be clear even to one who is an expert at statistics and adds:--The world knows that the non-co-operation movement has started and is spreading only because goodwill and confidence were not forthcoming from the bureaucrats and all their actions have become hopeless. Under the circumstances, his statement therefore should be due either to illusion or ignorance. Mr.Polak writes to a western paper that a leading moderate has expressed his view that there is no likelihood of the Government of India punishing the guilty officials and that this will give additional strength to the non-co-operation movement and reduce the moderates to a helpless condition. While this is the real situation Sir William Meyer has spoken in that strain!

Sir William Meyer on the reforms

39. Referring to the report of the sub-committee on the constitution of the Congress, the HINDU NESAN, of the 26th October, points to the alteration now made in the creed of the Congress and says:--Till now this creed implied a continuance of British connexion, But, as now laid down, it makes no mention at all of British connexion. The aim of the Congress till now was to secure the country's good through reforms in the administration. But, according to the changes now introduced, the aim seems to be not to mend the administration but to end it. A few have been standing aloof from the Congress for some time past. There is no doubt that these changes will cut them away altogether.

The constitution of the Congress

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40. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 26th October, writes:--Some are of opinion that as, while General Dyer killed hundreds without teasing them, Mr.Bosworth Smith tortured the people of the Punjab, the latter deserves a more severe punishment than the

The Punjab officials.

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former. But it is learnt from a contemporary that Mr.Bosworth Smith was asked to state whether all the charges brought against him in the report of the Congress sub-committee were true and that his explanation has been accepted by the Government. He seems to have admitted in his explanation his abusing the women. Though the accused himself admits the offence, is it because of the fact that he is a European, that British justice trembles to approach him? Do the Government propose to give any reward to Mr.Bosworth Smith? Alas! What Government! What justice! All this only provokes our laughter. Why should not Lord Chelmsford take Mr.Boseworth Smith with him, on his return to England, and make him his private Secretary? Among those who were arrested and detained in prison for a long time, in the Punjab on account of the spite of the bureaucratic deities, and left off late, were Doctor Kadernath, Sirdar Gurudayal Singh and Mr.Manoharlal. It appears Mr.Smiles Irving, who arrested these, will be inquired by the Government on his return from leave. How actively are measures being adopted? The reply of Mr.Irving can be guessed by all, and we also predict that the Government will accept his explanation IN TOTO as they have done in the case of Mr.Boseworth Smith. It is for the public to gauge whether we can expect any help from such a Government or are justified in rendering any help to that Government.

The brutish act of a 'white' in Tanjore.

42. A correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 26th October, details under this heading an incident on the Tanjore Railway platform, in which a European Assistant Station master is reported to have belaboured an Indian sub-record clerk of the Railway Mail Service in a brutish manner for no fault of the latter, and urges upon the Government and the Railway authorities not to appoint 'whites having a brutish nature' to any post in a place frequented by the public.

49. In its leader under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 16th October, (received on the 26th), sketches the various phases through which the Indian National Congress has passed, discusses the question whether the Congress decision is advisory or mandatory, and makes the following observations:--

The Congress decision

The Calcutta Congress presided over by Dadabai Nouroji inaugurated a new era. . . This proved an eye-sore to the old school leaders who desired that the Congress should be merely an advisory body. They therefore did away with it at the Surat session. The moderates wanted to make the Congress an association of mendicants. But their efforts were futile. . . People lost all faith in mendicant policy and the conviction gained ground that the freedom of a country is not such as can be accepted as a gift. Mrs.Besant started her Home Rule agitation, supported the SWADESHI movement, opened a National university, and inaugurated the Nationalist movement. The Congress which had been crumbling had again taken the lead of the country. Tilak and others set about their duties. At this stage the Montagu Reforms threw into an infatuation the leaders, and their followers. The Congress which had sought to bring about a national reconstruction again took to mendicancy and sent its representatives to England. Such falls are incidental to high endeavours. . . The course of Congress had again to be set right. Providence so long dormant in the womb of time has brought about the Punjab massacres and the Khilafat muddle to dispel the infatuation of the Indians. The rulers are only instrumental causes for these. . . The time-spirit that brings about all things, has enacted these scenes. The Congress woke up from its infatuation and voiced forth the SATYAVRATHA (vow of truth), founded on soul-power, through the lips of Mahatma Gandhi. This marks the third epoch in the history of the Congress. . . The conflict between the individual and the society will perish only when the individual practises the selflessness, the self-surrender and the self-sacrifice required for making the voice of the nation echo from the heart of the individual.

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This is the true idea of democracy and not that prevailing in the west. . . Cast away your individual opinions and your petty consciences, and place yourself entirely at the disposal of the destiny of your country. . . Your body, your life, your mind, and your destiny are the property of your mother, the motherland. Let her use you as she likes. This self-surrender and self-sacrifice are now necessary for the country. The discipline of the individual was highly cultivated in our country in the past, but not that of the society as an aggregate body. This is why India has come to this distress, bereft of union and plunged in strife. . . Develop your ego so as to embrace the nation, Let the voice of the country be echoed by your heart. You will then see whether the Congress decision is mandatory or advisory.

Allahabad news about political deportees.

53. Referring to the message received by the NEW YORK CALL regarding the political deportees that passed in a new special train through Allahabad (published in the HINDU) the GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 28th September (received on the 9th October), requests the Government to publish if there is any truth in the report, and to inquire into the matter in the event of its being true, and take steps to prevent the recurrence of such high-handed acts.

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The four-fold path.

54. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd October, says that the four-fold path for the salvation of the country--SWARAJ, national education, SWADESHI and boycott of foreign goods--adopted in the Calcutta Congress of 1906 has been re-affirmed in the Special Congress of 1920, exposes the evils of the western industrial system 'which has led to Bolshevism that does not afford a satisfactory solution of the labour problem in the west', advocates the revival of the old hand-crafts of India and the establishment of a system of national education in pursuance of the principle of self-

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determination in the place of the foreign one 'which fails to produce an awakening among the people', and remarks that the failure to allow to India and other countries the benefit of the principle of self-determination has led to critical situations.

The Congress regulations

55. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 25th October, says that the Congress is recognized as a representative body of the people not only in India but also in the western countries, that the scope of its activities must be extended, and that its regulations, framed under the extraordinary condition of 1908, have to be modified that they may be adapted to the idealist present times. / Referring to the report of the committee consisting of Mr.Gandhi and others appointed for this purpose, the paper observes:--'To introduce changes gradually in the existing Government' has been deleted from the Congress creed. In these days when complete SWARAJ is demanded, the above words are out of place. The words 'self-government under the ~~above-words-are-out~~ Empire' have also been removed. What form the Government of India may assume in future cannot now be definitely forecast. A complete self-government not under the Empire which has not been thought of by anybody has been promised to Egypt. Ireland also demands it. ~~South-India-wants-only-complete-self-government.--~~. South Africa longs for it. The regulation has therefore been modified to the effect that India wants only complete self-government. . . Moderate papers like the SERVANT OF INDIA and Anglo-Indian papers like the MADRAS MAIL have already declared that there is nothing objectionable in the changes.

Report of the Esher Committee

59. Criticising the principles laid down by the Esher Committee, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 19th October, in the course of a leading article, observes:--Whenever Government wish to increase their own powers, it has of late become usual with them to appoint a committee therefor and exhibit to the world their sense of equity and justice. The ~~xxx~~ Esher

Committee has made recommendations which would enormously increase the burden of the taxpayer. In these days of high ~~xix~~ salaries to higher officers, the committee has emphasised the necessity of giving fat salaries to big officers by sacrificing the poor rate-payer. ~~The starving taxpayer is given the toy of a Reforms Act to the poor rate-payer.~~ The starving taxpayer is given the toy of a Reforms Act to play with and the clamouring officialdom is made to keep silence by increasing their emoluments. The Army Department has been abolished and its place has been taken by a mere advisory body called the Army Council, thus making the Commander-in-Chief the Generalissimo not only in British India but in the protected States as well. With these powers will he not become a second YAMA (God of death), as it were, and will not the mere thought of his tremendous powers strike terror into the people's hearts? What will those that proclaimed from house-tops that England did not conquer India by the sword, say to the attempts that are now being made to invest the Commander-in-Chief with every despotic power possible? The War Minister will hereafter be the head of the Indian Army and not the Secretary of State for India. This is as it should be, as the time has arrived for a further expansion of the British Empire. Many of our leaders were dreaming sweet dreams that a territorial force would follow in the footsteps of the first instalment of SWARAJ. The committee has warned Britain to take special care to see that such a force does not turn one day upon the British themselves. It is reported that an army is shortly to be formed of students and teachers. Are these to fight the Afghans and the frontier tribes? The Indian Officers of this army are not to get the King's Commission, besides. With what animals these people are to fight, we wonder. What then is the use of this Esher Committee to our country?

60. In the MALAYALI, of the 16th October, a correspondent writes:--The famous journalist Saint Nihal Singh writes that

The Special Congress.

the resolution of the Special Congress has, as we expected, awakened the people of England. Though the majority of the people think that the non-co-operation resolution is impracticable, nobody tries to find out the reason why Indians resorted to non-co-operation. They content themselves with giving some advice to Indians and criticising the movement. The DAILY NEWS thinks that India is following in the footsteps of Egypt and Ireland. But it also says that the non-co-operationists will not meet with success as threefourths of the people India are illiterate. The Bombay correspondent of the DAILY TELEGRAPH says that though Indians like the Russians demonstrate their passions in speeches, it is impossible to foretell how this movement will end as Mr.Gandhi is a sincere and firm person having great influence with people of all castes and creeds. "If the Congress passes a resolution who is there to carry it into effect. After six months vakils will attend courts, the officers will receive their pay, and students will begin to cram their books for the examinations." This is what the MORNING POST says about us. The foolish belief of Europeans is that Indians are such insignificant creatures. The TIMES DOES not cry us down. It goes further and says that ~~the House of Lords~~ Indians became despondent like this, because General Dyer was eulogised in the House of Lords. But it does not fail to advise Indians to behave like good boys. Lord Willingdon's remarks in the Madras Legislative Council about Mr.Gandhi are not palatable to Indians. It was hinted in His Lordship's speech that Government intends to adopt a policy of repression towards the non-co-operationists. Does not the arrest of the Khilafat leaders in Delhi and Lahore reveal the intention of the Government? Mr.Gandhi's movement is daily gaining strength in Northern India. The Congress should never be the object of abuse at the hands of Englishmen. The present unrest in India teaches us that in case the Government do not redress the grie-

vances of Indians they will not, like the Russians, be simply delivering speeches and shedding tears.

65. The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 20th October, gives an extract from Pandit Malaviya's views that for the attainment of SWARAJ it is essential to return a large number of the best politicians to the councils, so that they may become a powerful means of obtaining responsible Government, remarks that unless we consider the new reforms as a stepping stone leading to SWARAJ, we cannot get a real responsible Government.

Pandit Malaviya and SWARAJ (self-government)

64. The JARIDAH-I-Rozgar, of the 19th October, in giving a brief summary of Mrs.Besant's speech on non-co-operation refers to Mr.Gandhi's statement that he addresses, the public in English, this being the LINGUA FRANCA of India and as those who do not know Hindi would not otherwise understand him, and explains how Russia changed the old name of its capital from St.Petersburg to Petrograd, as the former had a German flair about it, and observes:--This was a matter between Russia and Germany which has since been settled, but the relations between India and Britain are not of a nature to be ruptured by the misguided activities of mere handful of agitators.

Non-co-operation. The friendly counseller's folly

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65. The JARIDAH-I-Rozgar, of the 20th October, gives an extract from Pandit Malaviya's views that for the attainment of SWARAJ it is essential to return a large number of the best politicians to the councils, so that they may become a powerful means of obtaining responsible Government, remarks that unless we consider the new reforms as a stepping stone leading to SWARAJ, we cannot get a real responsible Government.

Pandit Malaviya and SWARAJ-(Self-government)

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The writer, then classifies the body of the Congress into moderates and extremists and again the latter into those who are in support of the full programme of non-co-operation

and those who are against the boycott of the councils, and observes that if this is to be called union, then disunion (LIT:HYPOCRISY--Tr.) is preferable.

Self-interested friendship

66. The JARIDAH-I-Rozgar, of the 21st October, has a communication under the marginally-noted heading from which the following is a brief extract:--Most of the men around Mahatma Gandhi were obscure persons. They have become notorious for assisting the Guruje in deceiving poor Indians.

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It speaks disparagingly of the present leaders, but gives a prominent place to Sir Sankaran Nair, who, it thinks, is a real leader worth following.

For the week ending 6th November 1920

No. 45 of 1920

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Indian political outlook

1. Writing under this heading, the SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, for the week ending 25th October, observes:--"There can be no doubt that the situation in this country is getting serious and pxxxx particularly those, who desire that the British connexion with India should be maintained in tact, would wish that some method should be devised by which the seriousness of the present situation could be satisfactorily lessened. But it should be clear that that cannot be done by resorting to a policy of repression once again and as it has been already pointed out, repression will not certainly help the Government in bringing the Indian affairs to a satisfactory condition. . . The non-co-operation movement has been declared by the Governor of Madras to be 'disloyal' and if one is able to see what that pronouncement is going to be, it is not difficult to foresee that the bureaucratic Government has, under contemplatation, measures intended to stamp out the movement. The Bombay correspondent of NEW INDIA has in the course of the communication to

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that paper, stated that the Governor of Bombay returned to Bombay after consultation with the Viceroy and there could be no doubt as to the anxiety of the Indian Government to resort to measures which would put down the movement. . . There can be no doubt as to the spreading of the non-co-operation movement among the majority of Indians and the grievances the continued existence of which is causing deep irritation to the Indians have been preparing the way ~~ø~~for the movement. . . If the bureaucracy persists in its present attitude and launches another era of repression, there can be no doubt that the consequences of such a step would prove suicidal."

3. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 30th October, has the following:--

Non-co-operation

~~"How long this Non-co-operati~~ stet.

"Verily, the non-co-operation movement is entering from one excess into another. Temperate speeches, speeches that went parlously near the boarderland of sedition but not crossed it, have ~~b~~ been given up for braggart and highly inflammatory utterances, the meaning of which leaves no room for doubt of any kind. We fear that even Mr.Gandhi, the great apostle of the cult, has consciously or unconsciously, crossed the boarderland, and his recent utterances can on no account ~~e~~ be regarded as those of a same or practical politcian. Probably, his appetite for sensationalism and emotion is whetted by the adorations he has been getting. His recent speech at Bombay, his writings in his own paper and the braggart utterances of his followers, have startled and surprised us beyond conception. The question has been asked if we are living under a strong and constitutional Government, if the game of creating hatred and suspicion has been legalised? In a recent speech Mr.Gandhi compared the suspicion has been legalised. In a recent speek Mr.Gandhi compared the Government to a gang of decoits and gave expression to sentiments we are afraid to notice here. That speech has been widely read and quoted, and in our own district we have reason to believe it was

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translated and orally published in many villages. Strong criticism of the Government we can understand, but when it degenerates into licence we have to pause and reflect. The non-co-operation movement is weak no doubt, but somehow or other as days advance it is gathering volume of force. We are told that the Government of H.E. Lord Chelmsford are giving the present situation their most anxious consideration, and we have to express the hope that they will arrive at a decision before it is too late. We have no doubt that Mr.Gandhi's internment or suppression will create great furore among his followers, and it may even be that they will break loose and take to lawlessness. But that is a price we have got to pay and fear of such outbreaks must not deter us from supporting any action the Government might take. Desperate diseases call for drastic remedies, and when the non-co-operationists are deaf to all appeals, do not care to consider the consequences, are deliberately bent upon misleading the people, betraying immature young men blasting their career, inciting men to violence, the Government have to administer drastic remedies which no right-minded citizen will object to. In fact, we consider it a duty the Government owe to society to curb political mad mullas, to prevent outbursts of lawlessnesses and to strengthen the forces of law and order. Society has to be protected from political incendiaries, and let us hope that the Government will act, at least now, with courage and determination."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the colonies.

10. In a long leader dwelling at length upon the hardships suffered by the Indians in the colonies, the DESABHAKTAN? of the 1st November, observes:--Are not the Government aware of the condition of our brethren in the colonies, and are they not bound to make an enquiry about it themselves? If, under the circumstances, our brethren are still sent to these colonies like cattle, in spite of the numerous articles written by

Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Andrews and others of their experience there, what are we to say of the mercy of this Government? Should not the colonies be made to treat x us like men, at least in recognition of the help we rendered during the war? South Africa, Canada and & Australia have ruled that no Indian should step into their limits, unless it be through their agents. During the period of war, the Englishmen offered us the bait of free ingress into East Africa. But now our brethren there are not permitted even to sell the lands purchased by them, unless it be to Europeans. Though the indentured coolies system is said to have been abolished in Fiji, the Indians are not paid proper wages there ~~and~~ and they are ill-treated and provoked. Our brethren, are still shedding tears in uninhabited tracts, being whipped and insulted in sugarcane plantations. When a Russian, who was punished for having conspired against the Russian Government, escaping from there, settled in England for a few years and became a British citizen, went back to Russia, the Russian Government arrested him and punished him again for his old offence. But the British Government objected to it on the ground that, as he had become a British citizen, the Russian Government had no right to punish him. Is it impossible for England, which was prepared to wage w a war for the sake of a Russian subject, to see that the Indians are treated like men in the colonies. Why then should the wail of our brethren be heard by us incessantly? The only reason is that we are slaves in the Empire. Unless our slavery is got rid of, our brethren will have to put up with such affliction. So let our leaders boycott the Legislative Councils, which cannot secure any redress even in this matter, and seek to obtain complete Home Rule with the aid of the weapon of non-co-operation.

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The success of the labourers

20. Referring to the notification of some settlement having been arrived at between the Government and the representatives of the coal-strikers the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 1st November

observes in a note under this heading:--. . . The coal workers were able to get their desires fulfilled by relying on self-help. The success which attended these people will, without doubt, act as an incentive to many others who also depend on self-help.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Students and politics

27. Referring to the efforts of Mr.Gandhi and others to draw away students from schools and colleges aided by Government, proving effective in different places, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 25th October, observes:--We need not be afraid of this movement, which has started like a whirlwind. Our students are taking action in this matter only out of an exhuberance of patriotism and a feeling of honour and not with a mischieveous intent. We do admit the general principle that students should not take part in politics. But how can the mind of the students alone be untouched by the movements of the world at critical junctures like this, when the honour and dignity of the country are in danger and when the feeling of liberty, which attained a glory during the great war, is effervescing all around us? It is not proper to say that they should not realize the honour or dishonour of their country./ It is only in the north that students have till now agitated against having education in institutions receiving aid from Government. If not even a few students in the south come to have a sense of honour and patriotism like those in the north, South India will have to bend its head down. Our wish is that colleges and schools should relinquish Government aid even here and national schools should be started soon.

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The beginning of repression

29. In the course of a leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th October, refers to the Punjab Government having prohibited the holding of meetings

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in that province under the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, on the ground that, in spite of warnings, lectures have been delivered there that are likely to breed disaffection and observes:--The delivery of lectures likely to create disaffection for the Government is an offence under the Penal Code. It is not known how far it is just to crush the rights of the public, without taking action against the particular individual who delivered such a lecture. Such a course would not have been possible, if the fundamental rights of the people had been assured under the Reforms Act. It is usual in other countries to invest the Government with the power restraining the liberty of the people only in times of serious danger such as war. But India is the only country, where laws are in force that permanently tell upon liberty, and it is usual for bureaucrats to apply them on the most trivial pretexts and prejudice the rights of the people. The Seditious Meetings Act has been introduced in the Punjab and the Press Act is applied severely all over the country. The MUSLIM OUTLOOK, the DAILY HERALD and other papers have been proscribed. Such acts will only lower the Government in the estimation of the public, who will think that the Government are under a great panic. We wish to know if the Government have taken to this course only out of fear for the non-co-operation movement. Apart from the question whether all the expected benefits will result from this movement immediately or not, it is certain that a better means than this cannot be devised by the Government for infusing a spirit into this movement. The orderly manner in which the movement is carried on is quite unprecedented and Mr.Gandhi and his followers and all the Congress propagandists are working very vigilantly, no untoward act has been committed recently. The cause of that murder was only religious fanaticism and not the non-co-operation movement. Mr.Gandhi's efforts for withdrawing students from schools concern only the students and their parents and not the public at all. So even this will not justify interference with the liberty of the public. Still, it looks as if the

~~the~~ head of every province has decided to adopt some special course at this juncture. Lord Willingdon unnecessarily wounded the feelings of the people by speaking on the non-co-operation movement at the last session of the local Legislative Council. Sir Edward Maclegan has resorted to repression in the Punjab and the news published in the INDIA of Mr.Montagu having stated in Parliament that the Government of India intend to enforce the Seditious Meetings Act in certain areas, shows that all these have received the sanction of the Government of India. Many an officer in several countries thought that they could crush the excitement of the people by resorting to repression. But such repression has only added strength to the movement but has neither weakened nor crushed it. Unless the aspirations of the people are satisfied, the resulting discontent and the consequential movements will never cease. If Lord Chelmsford has resorted again to repression, forgetting this fact, the times are only very favourable. While giving effect to the Minto-Morley reforms, are to introduced now also, perhaps the British Government want to act on the same principle.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th October, also refers to the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab and writes:--We are really surprised at the Government of India deeming the Punjab to be their armoury of repression for they always start their repressive policy only there. When a huge political wave spread over India in 1907-08, it was in the Punjab that it came into close contact with the rock of repression. It was the Punjab again that suffered most during the Law was in the passing. Repression was in full swing in the Punjab during the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We thought things would improve under Sir Edward Maclagan. But, though he is a good man by himself, we doubt very much if the fury of the bureaucratic deity has become ingrained in him. Public peace was not seen to have been disturbed anywhere in the Punjab after last year; nor do the people seem to have become excited there on account of the meetings held in connexion with the non-co-operation movement

or other meetings and caused any trouble to the Government. Why then should the Seditious Meetings Act have been enforced there? Two editors were arrested for delivering lectures in connexion with the Khilafat and one of them has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years and a fine of Rs.750. Even those who have committed serious crimes have not been punished so severely. We see only in India the sight of one being charged for having contravened an illegal law on account of his faith in his religion and being punished so rigorously. We do not think justice has descended so low in England. We see such severe punishments being inflicted often only in the Punjab. As this province contains many valiant men, the bureaucrats too are perhaps showing their valour there.

The same paper points again to the starting of repression in the Punjab and to the communication sent to the Government by Mr.Gandhi that nothing but imprisonment will prevent him and the Ali brothers from carrying on their work and obseves:--

Considering the fact of the British Government and the Government of India not having forgotten or learnt anything, like the Kings of Bourbon, even after the great war, there is reason to think that repression may begin everywhere, as was the case ten years back. If the Government understand the real attitude of India, they will never resort to repression; for if a people are determined to achieve an object, deeming it to be legitimate, not even God--let alone the Government of India--can prevent it and this is known well to the Englishmen, who have made a deep study of the history of countries. Did the Bourbons find it possible to suppress France or Austria to curb Italy? Were the Stuarts again able to keep down the British as slaves for ever? When ideas of liberty are entertained and developed in a people, they acquire the force of the deluge that is to end the universe. All the dams raised to impede it will only increase its force and not block it. These truths have been impressed on us by the British themselves and if, in spite

of it, the Government of India conducted by them contemplate the adoption of repressive measures, it should be attributed only to their not having recognised that India has resolved to attain complete Home Rule immediately. It seems to be almost a divine ordinance, that, in spite of many revolutions having occurred in the world, neither the majority of the people nor the Government should learn any lesson from such revolutions. So when there is an awakening among a subject people, it is quite natural, though not fair, for the Government, which has been keeping them, down, to suspect the genuineness of the awakening and, attributing the movements of the people to the devices of the agitators, try to suppress such movements. So we should expect repression. But we should see that it does not shake our determination. This is a period of trial for us and the race of Bharata should now demonstrate its internal strength, by exercising its will resolutely and calmly. We should be prepared for complete sacrifice. We do not wish that repression should have its full swing in our country. But, if it should, our aspirations will be satisfied even earlier than we expect, if the people demonstrate their determination.

Class differences.

37. The DESABHAKTAN, OF THE 29th October, writes:--Our bureaucratic brethren are now showing the distinction between the whites and blacks in railway carriages, in courts and in official appointments. But it will be rather surprising to know that a European convict is treated differently from an Indian convict in prison, as is seen from a contribution to the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA by an Indian, who had a taste of the jail unnecessarily. He says that two Englishmen, committed to prison for theft and trespass, were given ample room and supplied bedding, etc., and good food, the like of which they might not have tasted even in their houses, while he and others, accused of having assaulted another, were treated worse than thieves. It is very rare to get the offence of Europeans

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proved in English Law Courts, Even if it is proved, the above remarks show how they are treated in jail. Does superiority of class help offenders also? How many more wonders are to happen under the British rule?

38. Expressing regret at the news that, finally, the trustees of the Aligarh College have decided against non-co operation, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th October, says:--That the Mussalmans themselves should thus hold a different opinion in regard to the Khilafat, which is considered to be a vital question for them, will only lend support to the Government. We do not know whether the trustees of the Aligarh College are aware of this. We wish very much the national university, which Mr.Muhammad Ali proposes to start in Aligarh itself, prospers well.

The Aligarh College and non-co-operation

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M. Sahib--a student of Aligarh--sends to the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 1st November, a report of the proceedings of the students' meeting held with Mr.Gandhi and the Ali brothers and concludes it with the exhortation to Hindus and Muhammadans to 'unite and begin work for the Khilafat and for freedom' 'By the grace of God,' he says, 'success is certain. If you do not do it now, it is certain that we shall ever have to remain slaves. Are you asleep when the whole world is in commotion? O! Moslim brothers, are you enjoying yourselves with your Khalif before your eyes in this present condition?. . .

Aligarh and non-co-operation

39. Remarking that the Indians, as a race, have been weakened by their attaching a greater value to foreign articles and habits, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th October, observes When our country was supplying the cloths required for people here and also sending a supply to England, the English levied exorbitant protective duties, to safeguard their own industries. Besides this, they took advantage of the ignorance and timidity of our King and introduced their cloths here without any duty,

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by exercising the administrative power which had come into their hands. All this naturally led to the deterioration of our industries. The Government of every other country is earnestly watching to prevent other countries spoiling its industries. But, in our country, the Government is intent only on securing a profit to European merchants. The mulls, long-cloths, and other English fabrics were freely imported into our country without a heavy duty till 1918. It is in this year that the Government of India removed the inland duty to wipe our eyes. But when our industries had been destroyed by the work of 150 years, what great benefit can this small concession confer? If industries are to thrive in our country, it is we that should help it. What the Government can do by a law, we should do by self-sacrifice and strength of mind. Unless we do this, we will perpetuate the slavish condition of our race both industrially and otherwise. If during the ensuing DIPAVALI, we decide to boycott the Manchester mull and buy only country cloth, however coarse it may be, we can certainly assert that our race has acquired the strength to secure liberty.

Non-co-operation

40. The SWADESAMITRAN, ~~of the~~ and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th October, publish the proceedings of meetings held in different places in support of the non-co-operation programme.

A correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th October, suggests that owners of coconut trees should practise non-co-operation and decline to lease trees for toddy and thereby reduce the revenue of the Government materially.

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Referring to the sentence of rigorous imprisonment for eighteen months passed on a Khilafat propogandist in Allahabad, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st November, remarks that the non-co-operation movement has just begun to enliven the bureaucratic deities and, expressing the wish that they will soon end their dance, exclaims that section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code

has become a very nice tool indeed in the hands of the bureaucrats.

The HINDU NESAN, of the 1st November, condemns the active efforts made by Mr.Gandhi to influence students to boycott schools and colleges receiving Government aid, as being greatly prejudicial to the country.

Non-co-operation

Quoting a communication from a correspondent intimating that one Ramakrishna Ayyar of Maharajakadai refused to take a summon issued by the Deputy Tahsildar of Krishnagiri, as a sign of the adoption of non-co-operation on his part, the TAMIL NADU, of the 10th October, appreciates his action and, asserting that non-co-operation will enable the people to attain their object, hopes that he should fulfill his vow, whatever consequences might ensure.

The same has a leader on the subject of non-co-operation, in which it refers to the impression of some that there is no justification for the adoption of non-co-operation and that the Punjab incidents and the Khilafat question are not enough to warrant it and observes:--The Punjab massacre and the Khilafat question are but the concluding links in the chain of the mischievous acts committed by the Government of India. These two incidents bring out clearly the weakness of communal life, the ignorance of our people, the irresponsibility and arrogance of the bureaucrats and their habit of breaking their word. The reason why we should take to non-co-operation is clear. After the advent of the English rule, we have begun to quarrel among ourselves. Our mental strength is gone. We are full of petty qualities. We are afraid of everything and we feel desperate- Famines are frequent and diseases increase day by day. These are all the evils that have resulted to us from the irresponsible administration of the Government of India. The administration is not only irresponsible but is also conducted by foreigners. The difference between us and our rulers extends from colour to speech. Two races, which have no mental affinity, can never avoid quarrel

unless they feel together. We took to English civilization and are losing our strength. It is dangerous for us to continue in this course. So it will end in our ruin if we seek the co-operation of these again.

This paper also refers to the condemnation of the non-co-operation movement by the Maharaja of Bobbili and, remarking that there is nothing surprising in man of the stamp of this Maharaja losing their brains in these days when a new force is pervading throughout the country, questions the claims of this ordinary zamindar to the title of Maharja.

The NAVASAKTI, of the 29th October, justifies the non-co-operation movement and, taking exception to the characterisation of it as a disloyal one by Lord Willingdon, remarks that people can boldly take to it, and adds that Mr. Gandhi will stop the movement only if the British statesmen mete out justice in the case of the Punjab and the Khilafat and grant SWARAJ to India.

Non-co-operation

The JAGAPATHY, of the 22nd October, expresses its gratification at the renouncing of the Pleader's profession by a first-grade pleader in Bapatla. Referring to certain statistics, the paper adds:--It will appear from these that the movement of 'Non-co-operation' is striking roots deep into the hearts of the people, though its spread is slow . . . The paper remarks that the resignation of Sir Setelvad will be welcome to the nationalists on the score that his efforts against 'Non-co-operation' may give a fresh impetus to the opposite party. The paper adds, with reference to the efforts of the Bombay moderates against 'Non-co-operation', the following observations:--The country has shaken off its lethargy on account of the 'Non-co-operation' resolution and, inspired with fresh vigour, takes to uncommon agitation. . . . The nationalists must also set to work by publishing leaflets and tracts, and appointing itinerant lecturers. What is the Godavari district doing? Has she no answer to give to this question?

In its leader under this heading, the DESABHIMANI, of the 26th September (received on the 2nd November), gives a brief sketch of the movement of 'non-co-operation' carried on by the Indigo Planters of Bengal, the Thinkobars of Russia, the Pilgrim fathers of England, and by others. It lays special stress on the progress of the movement in Egypt during which "officials laid down their offices, workmen went on strike, school boys stopped from going to schools and the Milner mission was boycotted until independence was promised to Egypt." The paper describes as the immediate cause of this, the strong repressive measures inaugurated by the British authorities during which 'the people of that country say that high-handed acts were perpetrated equalling the Punjab horrors.'

Non-co-operation

The NELLOREPATRIKA, of the 23rd October, refers to the statement of His Excellency Lord Willingdon that the 'non-co-operation' movement is illegal and disloyal, and says that if the Congress programme is examined, it will be found that it is unobjectionable and does not afford any foundation for His Excellency's statement. The paper is, however, in favour of persons standing for the Legislative Councils and of voters giving their votes.

Non-co-operation

Referring to the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat injustice as the real causes of the non-co-operation movement, the PAURAN, of the 29th October, remarks, that, if, in spite of such serious causes, some people should advise us that we should suffer all and keep quiet, it is to be doubted whether in such people there is Indian blood or even human blood. It advises such selfish, ease-loving sycophants not to pose as leaders of the people in these days.

Non-co-operation

The PAURAN, of the 29th October, observes that it is the acceptance of the principle of non-co-operation by all

Non-co-operation and self-government.

the people together that secured self-government for Egypt and Ireland, and that it is the facility for causing disruption among the people of India, through their caste differences, which accounts for the difficulty of India securing self-government.

Propaganda work in England

41. Referring to the view expressed by the late editor of the INDIA, that the propaganda work now done in England through this paper could well be stopped, as it commands no influence, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th October, details the efforts made till now to educate the British public on the grievances of the Indians and adds:--Have these efforts had any effect? Some may say that they have opened the eyes of the British public a little. But how has this helped India? Has it put an end to the unjust acts committed by the ~~bureaucrats~~ bureaucratic deities in India, or quenched the thirst of India for liberty in the least? When it has not done so, why spend more money on propaganda work in foreign countries? As Mr. Gandhi says, there is much to be done in India. A slavish spirit is still lurking here and we have not men enough to root this out. So let our leaders spend their thought and money to do proper propaganda work in India itself. Our agitation should be such as to attract the world towards us.

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The conviction of Moulvi Zaffer Ali Khan

42. Anent the sentence of transportation for five years and a fine of Rs.1,500 passed on Moulvi Zaffer Ali Khan, the editor of the ZAMINDAR, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th October, observes:--All the offence committed by this Moulvi is that he gave expression to his mental excitement in connexion with the Khilafat. The bureaucrats of the Punjab seem to be waiting for an opportunity to apply the sections of the Indian Penal Code. Persons convicted of theft, adultery or murder do not seem to have been punished so severely. But we ~~shouldup~~ should put up with them, as they are intended only to test us. These punishments

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strengthen our hearts. So the people in the Punjab and Indians in general need not be disheartened by them. SWARAJ cannot be had without trouble. But the Government can never derive any benefit from inflicting such punishments. We do not know if Lord Chelmsford is aware of this.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st November, also refers to this subject and remarks:--If any one in England had been charged for the same offence ⌀for which Moulvi Jaffer Ali Khan has been charged, he would have been tried by a jury composed of men of his own class. But the people of India have not this privilege. The Moulvi did not choose to cross-examine the Police witnesses, as he thought that it wxxx was hard to obtain justice in political trials. So the Magistrate should have sifted this evidence very carefully. This Magistrate does not seem to have paid heed to the principles that an accused should be deemed to be innocent until proved guilty. There was no written evidence that the Moulvi used the words attributed to him and he denied the use of certain words. That the Magistrate should have convicted him relying on the evidence of the officials alone only indicated that he had determined to punish him. Thus this case shows that the Moulvi was not punished in order to prevent any serious danger to the Government but that the authorities have begun to suppress political agitation. This judgment will remove even the little confidence the people have in British justice and will not strengthen the position of the Government in any way. When such punishments were inflicted in Lord Morley's time, he declined to support them in Parliament. But Mr.Montagu has stated that he has allowed the local authorities to use their discretion freely and we need not spend a thought over the future. We would only remind the Government that the people are now making a bolder stand in the matter of their readiness to make sacrifices.

43. In a leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th October, condemns the attack of NEW INDIA upon Mr.Gandhi and, remarking that it is the newspapers that should guide the Government properly, observes:--Seeing that the Government do not identify their interests with those of the people and act as if there is one law for the Europeans and another for the Indian, the people have practically lost their regard and love for the Government. As the Government have permitted the export of foodstuffs to other countries and allowed the prices here to increase by not preventing foreign and Indian merchants abusing their position, the people fully believe that the Government are responsible for their suffering for want of sustenance. The cultured find fault with the authorities for conferring on foreigners positions and salaries to which Indians are entitled. The Muhammadans and their Hindu brethren are excited over the idea that the Government of India have not put forth sufficient efforts to prevent the Allies enslaving Arabia, Turkey and Mesopotamia. Instead of pointing out that it is these and other similar causes that have led to the present agitation and trying to root them out, the Anglo-Indian papers and even the NEW INDIA are mocking at and attacking the movement of Mr.Gandhi and his disciples and misleading the Government. The NEW INDIA says that Mr.Gandhi is now using objectionable language against the Government, only courting an arrest, as he finds he cannot do much. When objectionable acts are committed, how can they be described except by means of objectionable language? He uses such expressions, not out of provocation, but out of a feeling of pity that the Government may find their mistake and turn over a new leaf. If they punish the Punjab ~~Government~~ murderers properly, restore the dignity of the Khilafat and establish a democratic form of Government in the country, peace and order will immediately be restored here. Even now we would warn the Government that, if they try to suppress Mr.Gandhi or his movement by force, the agitation will, instead of being

Bad advisers.

open as it is now, begin to grow inward and it will then become very hard to root it out. Agitation based on force, which obtained ten years back, is fortunately forgotten now. If the advice of these bad ministers is acted upon, the old order of things will recur. So the only fair course now open to the Government is to put a stop to the repressive measures started in the Punjab and remodel the reforms as desired by the Indians.

The publicity bureaus

48. Remarking that the work of the Publicity Bureaus maintained in the several provinces at great cost, is not commensurate with the money spent on them, that the officers in charge of these Bureaus, though paid the salary of a District Collector, have neither the work nor the responsibility of the Collector and that they confer no benefit upon the people, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st November, refers to a circular issued by the Publicity officer in Bengal inviting the attention of the leading Muslims to certain articles written by the late Sir Saiyid Ahmed on the 'Truth of the Khilafat' and observes:--This shows that an agitation is being started on behalf of the Government against the Khilafat agitation. No one can deny that the latter is a religious agitation and we do not see how the Government can interfere with it. The Muslims never held the late Sir Saiyid Ahmed as a religious leader. It is highly reprehensible that this Publicity Officer should indulge in such propaganda work on behalf of the Government. The Bombay Publicity Officer has run into politics directly and sent a communication to the press about the All-India Home Rule League having recently changed its name into SWARAJYA SABHAS. When Home Rule Leagues were established in different places, they were not relished by the Government. ~~They use to get provoked, if any one uttered the word Home Rule Leagues were established in different places, they were not relished by the Government~~. They use to get provoked, if any one uttered the word Home Rule inadvertently. Now a

Publicity Officer has himself begun to dabble in these matters. Is it for this that these officers are appointed and paid from the public funds? The Publicity Officer in Madras has sent us a note issued by the President of the Cuddappah District Board on the medical facilities afforded by it in the district for the last seven years. It appears two hospitals have been built in the district within this period. What magnanimity! The Madras Government have contributed Rs.43,763 for medical aid to the people. The people may be deluded by this figure. But wherefrom have the Government given this large amount? They have only returned to the people a portion of the amount collected from them. This deserves some attention. The Publicity Bureaus are issuing pamphlets like this, so as to delude the people. They do nothing to improve the knowledge of the people. Will the Bureaus be conducted like this, if we have SWARAJ?

Indian unrest.

49. Quoting a statement of Colonel Wedgewood, in replying to an address in Bombay, that the unrest in India will subside a little, if the British Government promise to grant SWARAJ to India before the specified date, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st November, says:--This is true in a way, The Indians will not be satisfied unless they are given SWARAJ immediately. If such a promise is not given, the Indians have decided to obtain SWARAJ within a year by means of the non-co-operation movement. We intimate this clearly to the British Government.

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The Congress

51. The NAVASAKTI, of the 29th October, details, the history of the Indian National Congress from its start and , remarking that it is sincere and unselfish men that are required to give effect to the decision of the Calcutta Congress regarding non-co-operation, which alone can confer complete liberty on India, condemns the idea of some to get this decision cancelled in the Nagpur Congress and adds:--It will not be

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wise to turn the Congress again to the old path of beggary. Wisdom consists only in running the Congress suitably to the times. Let those, who forsake the Congress, leave it. Young lions, prepared to give up even their life for the country, will muster strong in their place. Brethren! Do not be afraid of anything!!

The lock-out in the Buckingham Mill

52. Anent ~~to~~ the lock-out in the Buckingham Mill, the NAVASAKTI, of the 29th October, observes:--The labourers are the true disciples of Mr.Gandhi. It is the capitalists and the bureaucrats that are training the labourers for passive resistance. The cruelty of the capitalists and the indifference of the Government can befit the labourers for a passive struggle. The strike of the electric workmen was rendered ineffective by the help given by military labourers to the capitalists. We need not dilate upon the conduct of the Police during the lock-out of the kerosene oil companies. The talk has come out in the labour world that the Police act highhandedly during lock-outs and strikes. It may be this occurs without the knowledge of the higher authorities and it may be difficult to prove it. So the Government should not give the assistance of the Police to the capitalists on such occasions. Let the Government note that, if they adopt this course, the present discontent among the labourers will disappear. We do not know how far the former are aware of the fact that it is the attempt of the capitalists to do away with labour unions that has provoked the labourers, and led to strikes or lock-outs. The Government should not be indifferent to the action of Mr.Bentley in having threatened the labourers with a revolver. We understand this revolver has been handed over to the Police and we wish the Commissioner of Police informs the public as to what has been done with it, as the cause of the labourers is just, they are sure to win victory, if they stand by their unions unitedly and strongly.

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58. Referring to the reply made by Colonel Wedgewood, to the address presented to him by the labourers of Bombay

The British people's vain sympathy

asking them to pardon England for the wrongs she had done to India, and telling them that they should not suppose that all the acts of the English Government are the acts of the English people, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 27th October, observes in its leader under this heading:--. . . No doubt, the British people and the British labourers may sympathise with the Indians. But of what use is mere sympathy which is not productive of any good result? Colonel Wedgewood would have, by now, seen the depth of India's feelings? He might also have noted how much they have been disappointed. Did the British people try to find out the reason why India resorted to 'Non-co-operation'? If so, did they show any resoluteness of purpose to work until India's wrongs are righted? What have they done to mete out justice in regard to the Punjab tragedy? What have they done towards the settlement of the Khilafat question? Of course some labour leaders helped the delegates who went from India. But did their responsibility cease with that? Many English people do not pay any heed to Indian affairs. The imperialistis are all powerful in India. The present problem is not purely an Indian problem. It is primarily a British problem. It is the duty of the English people to see that the honour and reputation of their country does not suffer. The Punjab tragedy is a blot on England's honour. So is the death of the Mayor of Cork. British honour will have no place in the world unless the Irish and the Indian problems are satisfactorily solved. The Labourites were able to directly prevent England from attacking Russia. If, therefore, the English people including the Labourites do their very best towards the fulfilment of India's wishes, we may have some confidence in their words. As matters stand now, the Indians believe that their salvation lies in their own hands. They have understood the futility of depending

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upon others' help. . . Colonel Wedgewood asks the Indians to pardon England for the wrongs done by her to India. India will never hesitate to do so. But it ~~expresses~~ would be possible for her to do so only when England admits her faults and expresses regret. Otherwise, India will be losing her self-respect if she forgives. She would then be pocketing the insults offered to her, Mr.Wedgewood has himself stated that death is preferable to slavery. If on account of the movement of non-co-operation the English happen to know the truth and feel any repentence, they must immediately undertake to fulfil the wishes of the Indians. There will not be much benefit derived if the English show mere lip-sympathy and try to weaken the determination of the Indians. Both England and India should be prepared for self-sacrifice. They can work together in the field of righteousness. Co-operation in the spiritual field will be everlasting. There are signs of not merely England and India but of the whole world being bound by the bonds of DHARMA. A new era will dawn. Those who have eyes to see can discern that attempts have been begun to be made in the whole world for the attainment of such a happy state.

A new advice.

63. Adverting to the advice offered by the MADRAS TIMES to the non-Brahmans with regard to the recent answer given in the Parliament in the matter of high posts under the Government not being offered to the non-Brahmans, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 29th October, observes in a note under this heading:--Even the MADRAS TIMES, has, after all, left the cause of the JUSTICE party and is justifying the action of the Government. It is necessary that the JUSTICE party should even now note the signs of the times. It is a mistake to suppose that the non-Brahmans form a backward community. Trade and agriculture and all other professions are in their hands. Why need they feel sorry for not holding a large number of posts in Government service? Even if they get them neither the country nor the community will be benefited. The

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country will not become more prosperous simply because many of the Indians hold high posts. SWARAJ is yet at a distance. When the whole of India is working for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ, if the JUSTICE party also co-operate in the attempts made to gain that end, their wishes will soon be fulfilled. It is desirable therefore that the JUSTICE party should understand that there is no other way of attaining their salvation than by joining the Congress party.

64. In its leader under this heading, the DESABHIMANI, of the 3rd October (received on the 2nd November), compares and contrasts Lord Morley's reforms with those of Mr.Montagu and observes:--Mr.Montagu is not a greater statesman than Lord Morley. The change in the programme of his reforms is due to the times and the conditions. Both Lord Morley and Mr.Montagu have sympathy for the Indians. Both intended to keep undiminished the advantages and influence possessed by the British in administration and to strengthen the foundation of the British Empire. . . It was not their intention to curtail the authority wholly or in part, of the British bureaucracy. . . Lord Morley's reforms were in force for a while before the people awoke from their dreams. . . Mr. Montagu's reforms had become the object of popular indifference even before the Reform Act came into force. Mr.Montagu is less fortunate than his master. The Legislative Councils called into existence by the Morley reforms did, in no way, add to the liberty of the people. On the other hand they led to the passing of many a repressive Act. None that knows the history and the effects of these councils can help being disgusted with them. The fight for freedom in India commenced in 1905. These councils understood to have been granted as a first step towards freedom in response to agitation naturally militate against that freedom. Whether it was or not the object of the authors of reforms, they have been employed by the bureaucracy to secure that end. They sought to create a split among the

The Morley-Minto Reforms.

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people and to suppress the national party by the help of the other. It was something like piercing one's eye with one's own finger. The authorities succeeded in their efforts but could their success change the circumstances? No, they can never. The desire for freedom grows stronger the more it is repressed. Repressive measures have never broken the back of the lovers of freedom. This is the history of the world. Lord Morley was a great statesman. Could he not understand this truth, or, understanding it, did he wilfully seek to put off the end of bureaucracy, drawing a veil over it? It is for the historians to decide this. The old scene has closed. A new one opens. Characters are being got ready, such as have no experience are rushing forward. The drama is opening. Why ask of the flavour of a dish when about to eat. This also cannot but end as a tragedy.

65. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th October, observes in its leader under this heading:--

Ineffective remedy

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When the people are expressing their disapproval of the humiliation they were subjected to, by adopting peaceful means, it would be well to hear ~~t~~ and redress their grievances. Any thoughtful man will see that the introduction of repressive measures instead will show only a lack of farsightedness. History has clearly shown that repression has always tended to augment the unrest among the people rather than suppress it. . . We don't think that the present Government will show the necessary tact at this juncture. . . The LONDON TIMES generally advises a resort to repression. Whatever may be its advice, it is clear that the new movement is arresting the attention of England. The indifference, and the ridicule with which they used to view it is now gone. The TIMES and other journals are afraid that the movement may be attended with success. The TIMES is also afraid that ~~the movement may~~ the boycotting of the councils may also prove to be a success. It is wrong in observing

that a comprehensive system of self-government has been granted to India. When the Congress clearly said that the Reform Act was inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory, it is strange that the TIMES thinks otherwise. As the Imperialists never care for popular opinion, they generally fall iinto such errors. If the TIMES had only respected the Congress opinion, it would have also seen the justification for the new movement. It is not able to see what disaffection the Punjab and the KHILAFAT matters have created in the minds of the people. Without nothing the circumstances under which the new movement has been inaugurated the paper advises (the Government) to place Mr.Gandhi under restraint. . . Because of the silence of the labour party at this critical moment, the policy of repression is growing in its own way. With regard to Ireland, the TIMES gave a similar advice, but is now viewing the situation with bitterness. But nobody is paying any heed to it now. Lord Morley has detailed in the TIMES itself how very ruinous the repressive policy adopted in Ireland has proved. As the Secretary of State for India he was held responsible for the repressive policy adopted in India. However liberal hearted a man may be, his official position cannot but have some influence on him. Lord Morley's life is an example of this. He is now condemning the repressive policy adopted in Ireland. Ireland cannot but be granted some form of self-government. But no form of self-government can be possible unless friendly feelings subsist between the Irish and the English. The actions of the British Ministry are preventing the cultivation of such good feelings. Lord Morley cautions them against these, and also the Sinn Fien movement in Ireland. . . His words of advice apply also to the present rulers in India. The Indian authorities should understand the truth of his statement that any resort to a policy of repression indicates weakness and shows their tact by adopting peaceful means for the fulfilment of popular wishes. . . It is an error to suppose that the methods which

proved unsuccessful in Ireland would prove successful in India. The present situation will not improve merely by imprisoning Mr.Gandhi or those who work for the spread of the new movement. On the contrary things might become more complicated. It is therefore the supreme duty of statesmen not to discard the lessons taught by History but to take to the righteous path. Respecting public opinion is the only way to establish peace.

The duty of Englishmen.

66. In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 1st November, observes:- While India, having undergone many hardships, is adopting peaceful methods with self-sacrifice as the means to get out of them, it is regrettable that, instead of words of sympathy, we are hearing the cry for repression, from England. Lord Morley is shouting at the top of his voice that repression will never lead to the restoration of peace and order. Colonel Wedgewood has come to India to study the Indian situation. Indians are very grateful to him for his good work with regard to the India in the Parliament. There is nothing more easy than to satisfy the Indians who are naturally amicable and grateful. Any far-sighted man would see the futility of a policy of repression directed against such mild people. Mr.Wedgewood who has come to India as a representative of the Labour party must note this.

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He must also understand that the Indians would not have adopted 'Non-co-operation' unless their feelings of self-respect had been deeply wounded. Colonel Wedgewood must tell the English people that the present situation cannot be improved until the Punjab and the Khilafat problems which have been the chief cause of unrest in India are satisfactorily solved and the right of self-determination is granted to the people of India. . . The National Congress wishes ~~to~~ for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ. It is well and good if England consents to grant it. But the Indians do not know if England ~~consents~~ has entertained any such idea till now.

We do not know what authority Colonel Wedgewood has for saying that they do possess such idea. . . Reforms of a most unsatisfactory nature are granted to the Indians. The wishes of the people have been discarded. To add to them, the Punjab disorders and the Khilafat problem filled the Indian hearts with utter disappointment. The two problems cannot be solved by the New Reforms. The two houses of Parliament refused to settle the matter according to the Indian public opinion. If under such circumstances it is Colonel Wedgewood's deisire that some more time should be wasted in carrying on a futile agitation, the Indians cannot consent to it. . . Even if Colonel Wedgewood should grow angry with the Indians for not heeding his advice, the Indians will not put a stop to their efforts. Though the Labour party have rendered some help to the Indians, it is clear that they have not discharged their duty satisfactorily. Mere sympathy will not do. They have not noted that the present problem is more an English problem than an Indian one. English honour and reputation are at stake now. Lord Morley has recognized this truth. English problems must be solved by the English people themselves. The labour party must take greater interest in these affairs. It is in order to acquaint the English people with their difficulties that the Indians have adopted this new movement. Even if the Labour party is not prepared to ~~acept~~ accept the doctrine of 'non-co-operation', the responsibility of removing the necessity to resort to it, rests with them alone. Even if they want to avoid taking any part in this matter, an occasion for their interference will surely arise. This must be made clear to Colonel Wedgewood by the Indians. . . He points out the importance of securing financial autonomy. It is only to gain that that the Indians are wishing to obtain political freedom. When stern poverty is staring the country in the face, nobody need preach this truth to the people. . . But let Mr.Wedgewood understand that spiritual freedom is more valuable than any other. India once worked whole heartedly to secure this freedom for

~~for~~ man. She has since forgotten her ancient ideals and now again she is trying to discharge her DHARMA. The new movement is a sign of the change. The mere attainment of SWARAJ is not its goal. India will not be sorry if she does not get self-government which is not based on the foundation of righteousness. Mr.Gandhi is not a mere politician. He is an observer of DHARMA. By adopting his movement many Indians will secure moral and spiritual development. Such a development can bind the extremists, the moderates, the Indians and the Englishmen in one common bond of love. The present day world is suffering mental agony ~~in-one-com-e~~ only; because it has swerved from the path of righteouness. The new movement will give peace of mind not only to India but to the whole world. From Mr.Gandhi's recent letter addressed to all the Englishmen living in India, one can see thatthe new movement is not one of hate. If ENGLAND should try to understand the real situation in India, she would be doing her duty at the present moment. Time alone must show how she will conduct herself now.

67. The MITAVADI, of the October, writes:--It is doubtful whether we have all properly realized the importance of the administrative reforms to be shortly introduced into British India. The power of British officers will wane and that of our countrymen will increase. Whether such a change is good or bad for the country is a most important question. It will be well for the true ~~XXXXX~~ DEMONS to get power and to use it. But if, on the other hand, a particular caste or some special classes should, under the present form of Government, get authority in their own hands, our opinion is that it will certainly spell disaster to people like ourselves. . .

The coming reforms.

MR

68. The MALAYALI, of the 30th October, writes:--The Khilafat and non-co-operation have now exhausted the patience of the Government. It has become evident that the people will

Repression

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not be satisfied until the autocracy of the Government, or the Government itself, be removed. Though the Moderates and Extremists differ in their principles and stand aloof from one another, no one will desire to see the Punjab calamity enacted once more. And a second performance of this will not end successfully as on the previous occasion for the Government. Several experience in the past have taught the Government that when unrest appears instead of trying to destroy the causes of unrest, to resort to repression which only fans the flame of unrest, is a useless policy. It is again inthe Punjab that buds of repression have appeared. The present order of the Government is that freedom of speech will not be allowed there. Meetings are prohibited at Amritsar and other places. There is law already to deal with revolutionary and anarchical speeches. If the originators of that law, without respecting that law, should themselves begin to deprive the people as a whole of their freedom, such a policy can never be justified. In this century there is no need for the existence of a Government which will not allow freedom of the press and freedom of public speech. Who can say what troubles are going to appear when the buds of repression open? When one moment the declaration is made that Indians are allowed self-government and the same moment the Government begin to act quite contrary to that declaration, Indians have a lesson to note.

73. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 24th October, commenting on Lord Willingdon's recent speech in the council to the effect that non-co-operation is unconstitutional and opposed to Government or Parliament, and his citing in support of this view the opinion of the late Advocate General Sreenivasa Ayyangar remarks, that Mr.Ayyangar's opinion was that the non-co-operation movement was against the constitution of the Congress. This view he had expressed before the Special Congress met.

A reply to Lord Willingdon

The writer then quotes the statement made by Mr.Ayyangar to the above mentioned effect and observes:--We hope that His

Excellency will withdraw his pronouncement now that the learned Advocate-General on whom he relied has plainly said that by the term "Constitution" he meant that of the Congress.

Now that the Special Congress has approved in part the non-co-operation programme, Mr.Ayyangar most probably asks Lord Willingdon how can this proposal become unconstitutional Possibly Lord Willingdon may convince Mr.Ayyangar. But for the present the secret is out that non-co-operation is not unconstitutional or disloyal.

For the week ending 13th November 1920

No. 46 of 1920

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Non-co-operation

3. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 9th November, has the following:-"Mr.Gandhi and his collaborateurs and the militant section of their rank and file must be left to be judged, not by the principles they advocate, but by their actual and concrete performances, and, judged by this simple, logical, unfailing test, they stand exposed and condemned as the very superproducts of iniquitous inconsistency. . . As far as it is directed against the Government, Mr.Gandhi's cult, in practice, is hopelessly, outrageously divergent from what it professes to be. On the lips of its founder and his fellow-missionaries., there is the word non-violence, but in their hearts, in their teachings, in the suggestiveness which these teachings reveal, there is violence, passion, hatred and, we are almost tempted to add, downright malice. It is very painful to have to say all this, but there are times when it would be dishonourable and, perhaps, terribly costly, to leave unpalatable truth unspoken. Mr.Gandhi should not be treated as of greater consequence than the country. He should not be encouraged, even tolerated, when his activities, whatever their motives, are leading inevitably to moral chaos and spiritual bankruptcy, when they have the effect

of turning simple peasants into ghazis, when they sow ~~disrespect~~ disrespect for parents and elders in the impressionable minds of schoolboys, when they wreck the peace and happiness that is the pride of family life in India, when they set man against man and class against class, when, in a word, they threaten to fill the entire land with the destroying forces of anarchy, reinforced by fratricidal war."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the Fiji.

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8. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th November, publishes a short description of an incident--in which a number of Indians are said to have been flogged and shot down in the Fiji last year--by one Srimathi Liladevi who is stated to be speaking with personal knowledge and who describes the incident as a small massacre.

New military administration according to recommendation of the Esher Committee.

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18. The MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, of the 3rd November, commenting on the present unrest prevailing in Asia on account of the short-sighted policy adopted by the British Government refers to Esher Committee's report on the military problem which is being criticised both by English and Indian statesmen and observes:--It is advisable that no undue enhancement should be made in military expenditure, also that Indians should be encouraged by being made eligible for the highest positions in the army.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education

Indian students in England.

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20. Remarking that those, who consider that it is a great honour to study in England and that only education there will improve their knowledge, are now said to be in a miserable plight in England, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th November, observes:--It is said that there is not sufficient room in the ~~Gxxx~~

English Universities to accommodate Indian students. It is not known whether this scarcity of accommodation applies to Indian students alone or to the students of all other countries except Britain. There is a separate department in the & Office of the Secretary of State for attending to the Indian students going to England for education. We do not know what this department is doing now.

(k) General.

Colonel Wedgewood's remarks

23. The DESABHAKTAN, ~~of the~~ and the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st and 2nd November respectively reproduce in Tamil the speech of Colonel Wedgwood in Bombay on the occasion of entertainment given to him by Mr.Jamnadas Dwarakadas, and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 2nd November, comments on it in the following strain:--We need not say that we heartily support the majority of the observations made by him in this speech. But we cannot believe his statement that England proposes to grant us liberty soon. If this idea had been entertained by England at all, she would not have granted us these incapable legislative Councils and will not be quietly looking on, when patriots of the stamp of MOULVI Jaffar Ali Khan, who agitate that this is not at all sufficient, are punished brutally. Colonel Wedggwood says that all the factions ~~of~~ in the country will disappear, if the English Government will promise to establish Home Rule in India before a specified date. These factions will not continue for long. There are patriots in every party. If they have an open talk with one another, all the existing misunderstandings will vanish. But it is a mistake to think that the specification of a date will suppress the agitation in the country. That date should be within months and not years. All those patriots, who are now in prison, on account of their opinion, speeches and political agitation, should be within months and not years. All those patriots, who are now in prison, on account of their opinion, speeches and political agitation, should be released. The present repressive

measures should be put a stop to and the liberty of speaking and writing should not be restricted. It is only if these things are done immediately that the Indians will begin to trust the words of England. Colonel Wedgwood concluded by saying that, if, after such a date was specified, the extremists did not rest contented and make peace with the moderates, the British Labour party would forsake the Indian cause. We have ~~the~~ to object to the tone of this remark unhesitatingly, though with regret. India accepts the help of the British Labour Party would with gratitude and welcomes their friendship on the principle of the need for universal brotherhood. But we would resist with all our strength their direction that our political agitation should proceed only on this or that line. The Indian race has acquired a self-consciousness and no one has a right to treat it like a child. Let not Colonel Wedgwood have any mistaken idea of India from the differences he sees in the country now. India desires SWARAJ and that soon. She will gratefully accept the help of all in accomplishing this object. But the period and the nature of the agitation that should be carried on to gain this end depends upon her own and no one, not even our friend, has any power to control that will.

Lab The Labour Conference

25. Adverting to the statement of Lala Lajpat Rai as President of the Labour Conference, that the labourers, who are organized, will not allow the foreigners hereafter to govern a country as they like, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 2nd November, remarks:--This observation will apply to all labourers in the world, who are now actuated by a new spirit. It is certain that there will be an independent era for labourers. Governments, which take to an autocratic form of administration, will have to realize this truth hereafter.

Genl The Esher Report

29. Remarking that the right of defending India against the attack of others belongs only to the people of this

country, and that it is a mistake on the part of the Congress and the Muslim League to have stated in their scheme that the people do not want the power of managing the army, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd November, observes:--When the leaders themselves have hesitated to demand our right, will the Englishmen come forward to grant it to us voluntarily? The basic view of the Esher Report is that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be under the control of the Commander-in-Chief in England and the committee want this because it is central and western Asia that will be the field of war in the near future. This means that the Indians should cross the borders of their country and shed their blood in Mesopotamia, Kurdhistan and Persia for the purpose of satisfying the desire of the Englishmen to acquire territory! Though the time has not yet come for the administration of our country being conducted with our consent, it is our duty to intimate to England that India will never agree to this. We are greatly disgusted with our army being used for enslaving other countries. We will tell the people of those countries against whom Indian troops are sent that we do not at all want to deprive them of their liberty, that it is because we have no liberty we are taken like cattle to attack them and that, the moment we obtain our liberty, we will withdraw the troops attacking them. We will point out to those, who have still a confidence in the Reforms Act and the rectitude of the Englishmen, that the Esher Report has not recommended the grant of any power to the Indians in the management of the army. It is we that have to incur all the expenditure for the army. But we need not be surprised at some of our friends standing by the principle of co-operation even after all this. It is on account of the foolish belief that England is necessary for the defence of India, that the majority of our leaders are afraid of speaking about complete liberty. The art of leading an army is not such a difficult one. Is it after sending us to Sandhurst or Quetta and finding that we cannot learn that art, that the Englishmen have decided not to allow us to lead

armies? Have not our ancestors conquered others in war? Are we not fighting for the Englishmen and displaying our valour in different countries even now, when the latter have destroyed our desire for war, so as to impede our progress? Our strength, valour and skill are sufficient to defend our country. Though Germany had made its preparations for forty years, did not ~~dmxix~~ England and France raise their ammy and manufacture their ammunition only during the period of the war and win a victorY? We will confidently assert that, if we have absolute power in our country, we can get all these things done in one year. So no one need refrain from trying to acquire liberty immediately, on the petty idea that we cannot defend ourselves. We will deem them unmanly, who say that the land of Bharata, which produced heroes like Arjuna, Sivaji and Ranjit Singh, seeks the support of foreigners for defending itself and that especially now when it has woke up.

Commenting again on the report of the Esher Committee, the HINDU NESAN, of the 4th November, observes:--The committee did not, from the beginning, adopt the system of taking evidence from witnesses and therefore they lost the opportunity of securing the opinion based on the experience of the public. We have to point out that the committee did not make any enquiry as to why no regiment was raised by the University of Madras. In fact, most of those in the units in Madras belong to the cultured classes. Neither the military training nor the capacity to improve of the Madras recruits appears to have reached the committee's notice. Though the proposals of the committee in regard to the formation of University regiments are satisfactory indeed, they do not seem to be conceived on liberal lines. It is known that fact that, for the defence force to be efficient its constitution should necessarily have the support of the people.

Esher Committee's report

The RYOT PATRIKA, of the 10th October, (received on the 23rd October), criticizing the Esher Committee's report

offers the following remarks:--. . . India, no doubt, should have an army to protect her frontiers and for internal defence, like other countries. But the army should consist of the Indians alone. The Esher Committee's report makes no such recommendations. From tomorrow for wards, the Indian army, in accordance with the orders of the Imperial Government, may be asked to serve in the wars of Mesopotamia, East Africa and Europe. Are these the rules applying to the army in this country which is taking away half the amount of the taxes? paid by the poor ryots from what they earn by the sweat of their brows? . . . The presence of Sir Krishna Gupta and Mr.Hayat Khan on the committee is not, therefore, a matter for pleasure to the Indians. . .

Punishments in England and India.

30. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd November, refers to SYLVIA Pankhurst having been sentenced only to imprisonment for six months in England for having committed the crime of attempting to create disaffection among the navy and observes:--In India, persons convicted of sedition are sentenced to transportation for life or rigorous imprisonment for five to ten years and some of them receive even capital punishment. Though the editor of the ZAMINDAR, who was recently sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for five years and a fine of Rs.1,500 might have been guilty of the offence of sedition under one or other of the curious clauses of the Statute Book of the Government of India, it is certain that he did not commit any seditious act. Even granting that he did, the events that led to it were of an extraordinary nature. ~~But Sylvia Pankhurst in England really sedition for the sake of his religion.~~ But Sylvia Pnakhurst in England really committed the offence of sedition and her object in doing so was to subvert the existing Government and replace it by another. But all the same the punishment for the offence is six months there and five years here! Need we say that the reason for all this is that England is a free country while India isnot.

31. Remarking that, as the xx last date fixed for the receipt of nominations drew near, the number of nominations was increasing like anything, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th November, says:--What to say of the gentlemen, who are offering themselves as candidates for the Legislative Councils at a time when the Congress and the Muslim League have resolved on the boycott of these Councils, in view of the fact that the Englishmen are trying to deceive us by introducing these Councils and putting off the grant of real Home Rule? What will the bureaucrats think of such people, however much they may praise them outwardly? Ninety-five percent of those who used to stand foremost in movements intended to serve the public cause, have decided that it is a mistake to get into these councils at present. If, now, persons, who never took part in politics before this, take to these councils, will it mean that our country has accepted the reforms? Which candidate comes forward to ask of the voters if it is their wish to send them to the councils, pointing out to them the resolutions of the Congress and the Muslim League as also the political situation in the country? They only give false hopes that they would accomplish many things for the progress of the country. If, in this condition, the people give their votes ignorantly, can it indicate the real opinion of the public? It is not impossible that some voters exercise their franchise, either to avoid the importunities of the candidates or swayed by a sense of obligation. But, if the political situation of the country is pointed out to the majority, they will understand that, by returning members to the councils, the day for the acquisition of SWARAJ will recede farther and the misery of the country will go on increasing. So the popular leaders should again take to propaganda work, allay the political thirst of the public, point out to the voters the real value of the Legislative Councils and make them sign in Mr.Gandhi's book.

The duty of patriots

32. Detailing how the European Companies, to whom the Government of Bengal have leased extensive tracts containing coal mines in the Hazari Bagh district, have been refusing to sublease any portion of these tracts to Indians and quoting an example therefor, the ~~dxxx~~ DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th November, remarks:--Though the Europeans wish to make profit in the land of the Indians, cannot they allow at least a portion of that profit to be enjoyed by the Indians? This is only like a stranger getting into one's house ~~to take~~ and refusing to leave it to the owner! Will not the Indians come forward to take to non-co-operation actively at least now?

Europeans and Indians

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34. Referring to the particulars of an interview of a correspondent to the SERVANT of Calcutta with Mrs.Besant the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th November, writes:--The object of the King's Proclamation was only to release all political prisoners. But, if some patriots, who are still suffering as political prisoners in India and the Andamans, are not yet released, it is due to the specious plea advanced by the Government of India and Lord Chelmsford at its head that India will be endangered by such release. Any other Viceroy would have liberated all political prisoners. Excellent patriots like the Savarkar brothers are still suffering in the Andamans, only because Lord Chelmsford, the Military Viceroy, is now the head of the Government of India. It is not known when they will have salvation. It is only in keeping with the fame of Mrs.Besant that she should appreciate the patience of the Government.

Political prisoners

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36. In a contribution under this heading by a correspondent to the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th November the following observations find place among others:--For the past 30 or 40 years we have been making strenuous endeavours to free ourselves from our political thraldom, but in vain. During this period of our

Why are we slaves still?

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struggle, many a country has become enslaved and also regained its liberty. The case of Belgium and Servia can be quoted as instances in point. It may be said that, as they took part in the great war, France, England and America espoused their cause and helped them to gain liberty. If we had deserved, many countries would have come forward to help us. For a long time past, all the European States including the allies have been greatly envious of England holding India in the position of a fettered nurse. If these powers had been impressed with the existence of an irresistible desire for independence on the part of the Indians, they would have certainly rendered the necessary help to liberate us. Though Germany is now weak, it did cherish the idea of emancipating India, when it was in the height of its power. To speak the truth, cannon and shot are but the outward signs of strength. Slavishness cannot last long in country where the flame of wisdom is ablaze. Thinking that they have weakened the cause of education, the Government have transferred that subject to the people under the Reforms Act. This augurs well for us, inasmuch as it will prove advantageous to us, though conceived in a spirit of injuring Indian interests.

39. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th November, publishes under this heading a communication from Mr.P.Muhammad Usman, who refers to Mr.Montagu, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Sinha and Lord Willingdon having each of them condemned the non-co-operation movement in his own way and appealing to these 'false prophets' as he calls them to come down from their high pedestal and realize their mistake by understanding the enthusiasm i in the country, observes:--Though Mr.Montagu called Mr.Gandhi lunatic and stated that his movement would die of its own accord if left to itself, the punishment of Mr.Jaffar Ali Khan and the Paniput Moulvis indicates a victory for the movement. Lord Chelmsford too characterised it as the most foolish one and said

The four false prophets.

that it could be ignored. Why then were those, who preached, on religion and public questions, sent to the Andamans? Does not this indicate the victory of the movement and the terror of the Viceroy? The opinion that we formed that he was quite ignorant of eastern political questions has been confirmed now.

The advice of Mr.Gandhi to Englishmen

41. Adverting to the attack of the MADRAS TIMES, on the letter of Mr.Gandhi ~~to Englishmen~~ offering a word of advice to Englishmen, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th November, writes:--Of our Mount Road contemporary should be the indicator of the feelings of the Englishmen in the country, we are afraid the split between them and the Indians may not disappear soon. This paper appears to be more intent on despising Mr.Gandhi than on carefully considering his suggestions. It asks whether the British have ever enslaved the Indians. If the Indians are not slaves at present, what has become of their banners with the mark of the bull, the kite and the cresent? If they are not slaves, how were they sent to France, Turkey, Egypt, Africa and other places, without the sanction of the Legislative Council? If they are not slaves, why are they being harassed with impunity by the whites in Natal, the Transval, the Fiji, Jamaica and other places? But for the Indians being slaves in their own country, would not at least one of the Englishmen, who murdered the Indians, have been sentenced to death and will those, talking and writing violently out of their thirst for liberty, be severely punished? The Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the cases under them very well demonstrate how far this country enjoys the liberty of speaking and writing. If, even after the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the perpetration of atrocities by cruel persons like Dyer and Bosworth Smith, one should earnestly say that we are not treated like slaves, we can only assert that, for some time past, the words 'liberty' and 'slavery' have changed their meaning. The TIMES concludes

by saying, that persons like Mr.Gandhi, who aim at letting loose violent forces, have no right to ask the English to view the actions of their Government impartially. How are we to regard those, who treat alike the murder of five Europeans by the people, provoked in several ways, and the shooting down of 1,000 and the wounding of 4,000 persons by opening fire on an unarmed crowd when quiet had been restored in the country and the heaping of unbearable insults on the people? If all the Englishmen in India should hold this view, the hopes entertained by many Indians that a new era is still possible when Englishmen and Indians can live like brothers in the same ~~world~~, ~~if~~ Empire will end only in a day dream. ~~Indians can live~~ But, if peace is to be restored in the world, if the Empire is to remain intact for a long time and if the English themselves wish to retrieve their bad name and enjoy real happiness, they should highly respect and follow the valuable advice of Mr.Gandhi. It is because the Indian race has still a sympathy for Englishmen that it is trying to correct them by resorting to non-co-operation; but the success of this effort lies only with Englishmen. Repenting for the cruelties committed by them and making all possible amends for such acts, they can secure the true friendship of the Indians, or, pursuing their present policy, they can create a gulf between themselves and the Indians which cannot be bridged over. Let us see what course they will follow

The duty of the Nagpur Congress

42. In the course of a long ~~xx~~ leader dwelling at length on the duty of the Nagpur Congress, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th November, writes:--The ideal of the Congress will be one of the questions to be decided in this session. It has already been settled that complete SWARAJ is the aim of the public of the country. Till now, it was considered that SWARAJ meant a government similar to that obtaining in the colonies. But there is room now for many patriots to ask why it should not indicate something better than that. It was

till now believed why it should not indicate something better than that. It was till now believed that the British Government would be helpful in establishing the colonial type of administration in India. But the action of the authoritis, conducting the British Government and that of India, has shaken such a belief. When the services of the Indians were required during the war, they were given many alluring promises; but the fulfilment of those promises resembles the difference between a figure and its shadow. To quote a recent example the Esher Committee have suggested a reorganization of the Indian army on the assumption that it should serve the purposes of British statesmen in Central Asia, which will hereafter be the theatre of war among the European Powers. So the object of the British statesmen is only to use India as a dice in a huge gamble. A statement was made by Mr.Churchill in Parliament that fifty million pounds were being spent annually in Mesopotamia and even, in a rich country like England, the people are protesting against such a large expenditure. If the Indian army is so reorganized as to do service in Central Asia, India may be burdened with the Mesopotamian expenditure. The military expenditure of India is already forty millions sterling, which is more than one-half of the revenues of the Government of India, and therefore no funds are available for promoting public good. It is to be inferred by our readers as to how the general administration can be conducted, if the military expenditure is increased further. Why should an army be not raised in South and East Africa, in view of the prospective danger in Central Asia? There is no other reason except that these colonies will not allow it and that India has not the independence to raise an objection. If the Esher Committee had hoped that India would obtain such freedom at least hereafter, it would never have made the recommendations it did. Some may be under the impression that the British decide our destinies only because we are subject to them, and that our object should be to sever our connexion with them by

means of an agreement, maintaining friendly relations with them at the same time. But several wise men state that this is almost similar to the relation now obtaining between Britain and the colonies. Further, there is another objection to the first view, that, as India is not yet able to depend herself without the help of Britain, the moment the latter severs her connexion with the former, some strong Power may devour India. But we cannot accept this as a valid argument. During the time of the British, the Indians have lost their manliness and their warlike spirit has become blunted. It is the object of the bureaucracy that such a state should continue for ever, as is seen by the Esher Committee's recommendations. Some are of opinion that, as long as they continue to be under the British, the Indians will never become fit to depend themselves. Therefore, it is a very intricate matter to decide what should be the aim of the Congress.

Continuing its comments on this subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th November, writes:--No one will deny that we are entitled to have complete Home Rule, agreeably to the times, on the lines of the colonies and it is admitted by all parties that we should rely upon our own efforts to achieve this end and that there is no use in our depending upon the favour of goodwill of the British. The question to be decided by the Nagpur Congress is what method we should adopt in this matter. The moderates think that we can accomplish our object by co-operating with the Government and the British. But the conclusion of the nationalists is that, as those conducting the Government have acted in such a manner as to forfeit our confidence in their sincerity and as it is patent now that the British in India are trying only to keep us down in their own interst, our object cannot be accomplished in the near future by their favour. They therefore advocate the adoption of other active measures to secure this end. Though the Special Congress at Calcutta did not resolve that the principle of non-co-operation should pervade the basic principles underlying the aims of the Congress, the fact it was accepted

as a means ~~of~~ to achieve a particular object, makes us presume that it may as well be used for attaining our grand ideal of SWARAJ. So there is room for a strong discussion again on the question whether, in view of the fact that SWARAJ is our ideal and that we cannot attain it by seeking the favour of and co-operating with the British, we can or cannot attain it by bringing pressure to bear upon the British by a spirit of non-co-operation.

The non-co-operation movement

43. Referring to the communique of the Government of India regarding this movement, in which they characterise it as unconstitutional but at the same time assure that they will not interfere with it as long as those engaged in it do not resort to force, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th November, writes:--Though we now see this attitude anew in the Government of India, there is no reason why we should note it specially and appreciate it. Their assurance will only make us presume that they have learnt a lesson from moderates to exercise their influence to suppressit, but have not said a word about the causes that led to the starting of this movement and as to whether they intend to try to remove them or not. Though the moderates do not approve of the doctrines preached by Mr.Gandhi, they have admitted that the Government have afforded sufficient grounds for the starting of the movement. The leader of the movement, Mr.Gandhi, helped the Government much and pleaded for the acceptance of the reforms in the Amritsar Congress. Why should he now preach the boycott of the Government? Who can deny that the Government have, by their actions, created a situation in which the people zealously act upon his word. The Government of India think otherwise and they are determined to get them reconsidered and justice meted out. The partition of Bengal, which was deemed to be a 'settled fact' by Lord Morley, was reconsidered according to the wishes of the people. Similarly the Indians are resolved to bring about a reconsideration of the three

points noted above. Talking about the Turkish treaty at Sylhet some days back, the Viceroy stated that, as soon as the came to know of the final terms, he suggested an alteration of these terms and that, as Turkey herself had accepted them. In her present situation she will accept even worse terms. The Indians are determined to see that the Allies alter these terms, that the British Government mete out justice in the matter of the Punjab and that the Indians are granted SWARAJ. So the only course desirable is for the Government to try to understand the attitude of the people and adopt the necessary measures, and not to oppose it.

The non-co-operation movement

Referring to the commencement of a policy of repression by the Government consequent on Mr.Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, especially to the prohibition of public speeches and meetings in the Punjab and to the threat held out by the Government that more coercive measures will be introduced if the people instead of behaving decently and temperately resort to violent speeches and actions, the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 5th November, says that the children of mother Bharata are asking whether there is not already a great number than necessary of legal chains with which to illegally bind such of her children as are working for her freedom

The same paper points out that though the Viceroy and the provincial Governors laid Gandhi aside as a "dreamer" and the Anglo-Indian press thought that his movement would fail, the non-co-operation movement is gaining strength as is evidence by the the boycotting of Government and aided schools and colleges by the students in Northern India, etc., and that the LONDON TIMES is of opinion that it is not desirable to permit Mr.Gandhi to continue his work, and observes that there are various indications to show that the Government may ere long try to bring the non-co-operation under law.

Referring to the unanimous decision of the Congress of

Ceylon to boycott the councils, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 30th October, observes:--That 'non-co-operation' is the means for the salvation of dependent races is being recognized by all . . . May our moderates give up their perversity at least after seeing this example set by the Ceylonese!

Non-co-operation

The HITAKARINI, ofthe 18th October, (received on the 3rd November), in its leader under this heading appeals to the people to convert the schools in their districts into national schools and colleges.

Non-co-operation

In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 27th October, observes to the following effect:--The great war has set free forces that have been long pent up, and the common people have become alive to their strength and rights. The establishment of Soviet Government in autocratic Russia and its recognition by European States illustrates the revolution that has come over the political thought of the world. Underlying this and the workmen's strikes in Europe, is discernable the 'non-co-operation' of Mahatma Gandhi, with the only difference that the violent methods characterising the movement in the West find no place in the programme of Mahatma Gandhi. Europe has more faith in the force of arms than in the strength of DHARMA. This is the difference between the East and West and Mahatma Gandhi's solicitude is to wean the West from this force of arms and direct it to the force of DHARMA. Though the boycotting of the councils, the renouncing of titles, etc., represent the outward phase of 'non-co-operation' self-control and discipline is at the core of the movement. It has no faith in external help. Mahatma Gandhi always preaches the doctrine inculcated by Sri Krishna that the soul cannot be elevated without self-help. Devotion to Swadeshi, to SWABASHA (one's own language) and national education are the chief means to self-help. The national soul of India that

has so far been nurtured by self-help, has now languished. The glamour of material power possessing the westerners has now seized Indian hearts. That it has lead to the punishing of the soul in the West, the present affairs show. The Cabinet of Mr.Lloyd George trust to the force of arms in this Imperial crisis. MacSweney has passed away after seventy-four days of hunger strike. The Punjab massacres are an instance of this. When the strength and resources of an Empire fail to ameliorate the national soul, they contribute to its destruction. Mahatma Gandhi's movement, based upon self-sacrifice, is calculated to save the Indian nation from this catastrophe.

In its short notes under the heading "What does India say?".

Non-co-operation

The KANTHIRAVA, of the 9th November, observes:--Let alone the success or failure of the non-co-operation movement, the decision of the people willbe indelibly recorded in the annals of history. The days of softly worded resolutions are past. There has been a terrific upheaval in the Indian political world and a yawning gulf of ill-feeling between the rulers and the ruled is the result. Just as the Irish, unable to endure any longer their dire miseries, took up the Sein Fein policy in order to secure their independence, so too India, tired of ineffective prayers and unfulfilled promises, has become desparate and has been led to adopt a similar policy to gain her end. Henceforth, India is no longer the old India! "Hereafter we go our own way and do not require permission from any one. Let us ourselves clear the way for independence. In this holy war let us place implicit confidence in our national leaders and act up to their advice. Let us make a good use of all our energy and achieve the welfare of the country in a fraternal spirit. A self-reliant and united nation can never fail to secure its fixed goal." --thus have they decided and begun to work. Neither the passing of Statutes such as the Rowlatt Acts nor the policy of draw-the-sword will have any effect on this. This is a new

force; a new spirit; "Till now, you discussed, begged and mourned many a time. But what avail? Now rely on yourself and work and see whether you will secure your goal or not." Such is its ringing cry throughout India.

Non-co-operation

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 6th November, writing eulogistically regarding an article contributed by Mr. Bernard Houghten, I.C.S., to the columns of the BURMA OBSERVER, remarks:--It is only because of the existence of men of such magnanimous views among the English that the British Empire still stands firm. Indians have to be grateful to this great man for x his good advice. Every word of his advice enjoins kingly duty of a very high order. Our scriptures are not without innumerable illustrations on this subject. . . Even an Emperor, when he becomes bereft of righteousness, becomes far inferior to the bugs that suck our blood. Itis but mete that those who enjoy high authority and roll in wealth should free themselves from such an intoxication.

Non-co-operation

While rejoicing at the recent Hindu-Muslim unity, the KERALA XXXXX SANCHARI, of the 2 3rd November, points out that the attitude of leading Indians towards the non-Brak co-operation movement clearly wshows that the majority of Indians are not in favour of it and that though, through the efforts of Mr.Gandhi and the Ali brothers, the movements may meet with some success here and there, it cannot be imagined that it will be productive of the desired results, and observes that to remedy the various grievances of the Indians, constitutional efforts should be made in a way satisfactory to the people at large. The paper deplores that Mr.Gandhi and others are interfering with students. It speaks in eulogistic terms of the Governments policy towards Mr.Gandhi and his followers, in spite of their violent speeches, and remarks that it is not possible to say what the consequences will be if the Government should continue to follow the same policy towards them.

On account of Mr.Gandhi's interference with students and of his violent speeches the paper is inclined to support the view of the London Times that Mr.Gandhi and his followers should not be allowed to move about as they like, and remarks that the success which Mr.Gandhi has met with in the case of elections, to councils should be considered prejudicial to the best interest of India. It suggests that all those who have the welfare of ~~ka~~ India and her people at heart should do all in their power to see that no agitation or unrest is caused as a result of the non-co-operation movement.

The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 3rd November, deplores the increase in the volume of litigation in Malabar, refers to the increasing number of law graduates, and thinks that the Government and the people should, as in other countries, make provision for opening out opportunities for the employment of the rising generation in industrial and other pursuits.

X The arrest of an editor

44. Referring with regret to the news of the arrest of Mr.Tajuddin, the editor of the Taj and KHILAFAT, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th November, reiterates the view that it will be a serious mistake if the Government think that, by putting down the patriots doing propaganda work in connexion with the Khiláfat, the non-co-operation movement will cease, and that such repressive measures will, instead of weakening the movement, only strengthen it.

Press

The rumour of repression.

47. Adverting to a rumour that the Government of India are going to suppress the non-co-operation movement and to restrict the movements of Mr.Gandhi and the Ali brothers, the NAVASAKTI, ofthe 5th November, asks why the movement should be curbed when it has not caused any harm and observes that repression will not lead to any benefit but will only create discontent throughout the country and that the imprisonment and deportation of leaders will not suppress agitation.

NCS

48. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th November, refers to the speech of Mr.Lala Lajpat Rai as President of this conference recently held at Bombay and to the attack of the MADRAS TIMES on it and observes:--The TIMES X says that Mr.Lajpat Rai's speech is intended only to create a feeling of hatred against the capitalists in the minds of the labourers, while India has derived immense benefit from the efforts of the British capitalists. The latter statement is true. But that benefit has been secured by India as a result of her giving her life, as it were, for an article worth only three pies. It is due to the British capitalists that railways run in India and many factories have been established here. But where has the ancient opulence of the country gone and is not India suffering now as a result of her having lost her wealth? The TIMES says that, beyond the appointment of a committee and passing certain resolutions, the conference has not done any useful work. Even the Congress was condemned only like this by the Anglo-Indians when it started its work. They reviled it afterwards and then began to tremble. Similarly they will talk lightly of the Labour Conference for some time, as it gets stronger, they will revile it and then they will come to tremble at it.

The All-India Labour Conference.

Lab

50. Remarking that neither the authorities of the Buckhingham Mill nor the Government have bestowed any attention on the condition of the 5,000 labourers in the mill, who have been without work for the last seventeen days on account of the company having declared a lock-out, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 6th November, observes:--In no country and under no Government have the authorities evinced such an indifference when some thousands of the subjects of that Government are suffering for want of work. But the indifference of the Madras Government is good in one way; for it will make the labourers realize the value of self-help. We do not know what the Labour Commissioner, who has been appointed only for the

Labour strikes

Lab

purpose of attending to the interests of labourers, is doing now. Is Mr.Moir keeping quiet because he has just taken up the post? We hope the labourers will stand resolute, whether any one may help them or not. We understand some hand-looms have been provided for the operatives on the lock-out and we wish this small effort will improve and help the cause of SWADESHISM. If, instead, of working in factories run by foreigners and being kicked and beaten there, labourers take to hand-loom weaving, they will not only be benefitting the country but can also lead honourable lives themselves. Strikes are now occurring in all important towns in India. It is now forty days since the postmen of Bombay struck work and the Government have not shown any compassion yet. Would the Government have kept quiet, if a similar strike had occurred in England? In his opening speech at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, Lord Chelmsford asked the capitalists to treat the labourers very kindly. We need not say how he is now treating the postmen, who are directly under the Government of India.

SWADESHISM.

53. In the course of a leader explaining the significance of the feast of DIPAVALI, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th November, writes:--We are not justified in observing this festival, for the whole country is now cast in a gloom. Several patriots like the Savarkar brothers, Jaffar Ali Khan and others who were ready to sacrifice their all for the purpose of securing a free government for out country, are suffering in prison. Many others, charged with sedition, are kept in prison and are sinking for want of the vital air of liberty. A number of our brethren are starving in the colonies and, being deprived of their honour and beaten and kicked by the cruel foreign capitalists, have lost the very characteristics of men. Here we are going on, as usual, with our feasts and festivals.

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54. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd November, gives in Telugu what Mr.M.C.Chagla writes in the NATION which contains:--Mr.Gandhi is not for compromise even in politics. . . He has a clear insight into what is DHARMA and what is not. There is no compromise betwwen the two according to x his view. He therefore prescribed spiritual means for a solution of political problems. . . Western institutions have no glamour for him. He has no faith in the industrial system that comes with western civilisation. He advocates a return to the ancient xystx Aryan social institutions of the Vedic times which gave birth to RISHIS and heroes, owing to the neglect of which 'India has fallen on bad times'. This is why his message is enthusiastically received by the x people. . . He says there is no need of lawyers, doctors, railways and machines. His plain-living and unostentatious figure have fascinated the hearts of people and made them love him, so much so that the title of 'Mahatma' becomes significant in his case.

The life-ideal of Mr.Gandhi

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55. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd November, writes:--While welcoming Colonel Wedgwood, Mr.Lajput Rai said that India had learnt a lesson by the experience of suffering, that India could not repose trust in British policy, that, friends as they are to them, the British labour party would allow the Indians to have their own way for a while, that he was of opinion that the Indians woudd not thereby forfeit the good-will of the labour party. . . and that, though the Indians were solicitous to follow the counsel of the labour party, they had to to make the final decision. The ideals of India cannot be more clearly set forth. It is advisable for the Indians to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of others for the national cause, but they cannot give up their firm decision even to please others. May Colonel Wedgwood understand this truth, acquaint

The noble message of Lajput Rai

his countrymen of the conditions prevailing in India, and seek to secure justice!

The real state of things

57. Reviewing the speech delivered by Sir D.Wacha as the president of the meeting held at Bombay to welcome Colonel Wedgwood, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 5th November, writes under this heading. Some x even among the Indians hold Mr.Gandhi responsible for the present situation. It is a matter for gratification that Sir Wacha though a moderate leader does not hold this view. . . He said that some Government officials could bring about a change, that the Germans could not effect with all their efforts, that the Rowlatt Act was the cause of the present distressful situation, that the passing of the said Act led to the Punjab disorders and the exploits of General Dyer the praise of which increased the unrest in the minds of the people and that all these causes led up to the destruction of the faith that the Indians had x in the British nation. Sir Wacha has explained the real state of things to the audience, and Colonel Wedgwood, to whose influence he has appealed for restoring the faith of the Indians in the British nation. Even fm Sir Wacha a moderate, has to recognise the justice of the new movement.

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The realization of truth

62. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th November, in its leader under this heading traces the successive stages of disappointment met with by the Indian National Congress owing to its dependence on others for the fulfilment of its wishes and observes --For a long time the Congress was addressing its prayers to the bureaucracy. When that proved futile, the Congress turned its attention to the Parliament. The old Congress leadershad much faith in the Parliament, and the principles of the Liberal Party were very high-sounding. People were thinking that if the Liberal Government were to come to power, India would be greatly profited. It did come to power, and Mr.Asquith became the Prime Minister with Lord Morley as the Secretary

Genl

of State for India. All the old hopes gradually waned. It was in that time, was again put into force and patriots like Lala Lajpat Rai were deported. Moreover Mr.Morley clearly said that an arbitrary form of administration alone would best suit India, and not institutions of self-government. Some reforms were granted dueing Mr.Morley's time. But these did not give the peoply any training in self-government. The Legislative Councils formed under them served only as platforms of debate. After getting into power the liberals did not differ much from the conservatives in action. Seeing that these parties could not help India in any way, the Congress sketched out a programme for self-government. The Congress believed that the angle of the vision of English people had changed after the war. Its representatives therefore proceeded to England and made an open declaration of the political aspirations of the Indians. Reforms were granted but not those asked for. Even the shadow of self-government has not been given. The demands made in respect of the Reforms, the Punjab affairs, and the Khilafat became mere cries in the wilderness. . . At this time, the Congress sought the help of the Labour Party. But it is not possible to think that Indians' difficulties willl come to an end and SWARAJ speedily granted by merely depending upon this party. The Congress is now realising this truth. The reason is clear enough. We do not know how the Labour party will conduct itself when once it gets into power. Their advocacy of free trade is not favourable to India. . . Moreover Mr.Ramsay Macdonald voted with the majority in the Public Services Commission and Mr.J.H.Thomas in his recent publication has observed that the Indians are not yet fit for being granted completely the freedom of the colonies. Therefore we cannot much depend upon the help of the Labour party after their coming into power. . . It is better to understand that real SWARAJ is not a thing which others can give. Self-confidence must spring up in the people. They must learn to depend upon their own hands, they will immediate-

ly obtain the right of self-determination. They must be able to determine for themselves what they want. Self-government granted by others will be patch work. Self-government which is suited to the state of the country, to its customs and civilization must emanate from amongst the people themselves. . . The Congress has clearly seen the need for self-help and since then the resolutions of that body have been attracting the attention of the English people. If the people of India do not swerve from the right path, and set to work with determination, they cannot but reach their goal in the near future. We need not fear, however, discouraging outside circumstances may be.

SWARAJ and non-co-operation

65. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 30th October, observes on the subject:--It is perhaps, on account of the pure intentions of Mahatma Gandhi that the SWARAJ movement evokes uncommon enthusiasm every where. The success of the conferences of Gantasala and Gudivada is a proof of this. A determination to boycott the councils is emanating from all people. What want can there be to mother India? She has 33 crores of children. If only she casts her merciful glance, strength will spring from weakness, courage from cowardice, knowledge from ignorance, and union from dissension. Who can stay the progress of this God-ordained and universal movement?. . . If we can come out successful through this test of the discipline of the soul enjoined by the Congress, SWARAJ will be at hand. The history of the world proclaims this with a hundred voices.

Unrest

66. The BALABHARATI, of the 15th September, (Received on the 4th October), in a long article under this heading traces the genesis of the present unrest in India, enumerates the various stages of demands put forward by the Congress from time to time, mentions how the hopes of the Indians cherished by them soon after the war were frustrated by the after events

how the Punjab and Khilafat affairs and the disappointing nature of the Reforms contributed to fan the flame of unrest in India, and how even the Americans were shocked to hear about the atrocities perpetrated by the Englishmen in India, and finally speaks about the movement of 'non-co-operation' and the soul-force underlying it, commenting the same to the acceptance of its readers and exhorting them not to go to the legislative Councils. The paper further observes that India is one of the countries which have lost their national vitality by having been subjected to the arbitrary rule of the British, that the law applied to the foreigners is different from that which is applied to the Indians, that the poverty of India is due to the selfish rule of the foreigners, that the British people carry on their administration in this country to serve their own purposes and not for the gain of India, that the Indians can only pay their taxes but have no control over the finance, that much money is being wasted in giving fat salaries to high officials, while no money is found to impart compulsory education to the Indians and to protect Indian industries etc., and that, so long as complete self-government including financial and legislative control cannot be had, all these hardships cannot be overcome..

Repression ahead.

69. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 29th October, referring to the various political activities of the people prevailing in various parts of the country and growing in intensity day by day, concludes with the following observations:--

RA

We are sorry indeed to see signs of our Government resorting to their old weapon of repression of public opinion. His High authorities like the Viceroy having oftentimes given expression to the adage that love begets love and hatred breeds hatred many fondly hoped that the authorities would not start repression upon an unarmed people. As, however, Mr.Montagu in England, the Viceroy at Simla, Sir Craddock in Burma and Lord Willingdon in Madras decried the non-co-operation

movement on various occasions, a suspicion flashed across the popular mind that some disaster would soon follow in the wake thereof. That this suspicion was not groundless is now more than proved by the repression begun by the authorities in the Punjab. We would like to make a representation to the authorities in the Punjab. We would like to make a representation to the authorities, which, we pray, they should patiently hear. Why should the hound of repression be let xloose upon an unarmed, weak and harmless people, who can only make some speeches and write some articles and can do nothing more dangerous than that? This is not unknown to the authorities. Why then pursue these harmless people? The whole civilised world is now fully aware of how each party behaved in the Jallianwalla Bagh in the Punjab. The moment this topic is raised, such of the authorities as are honourable bend down their heads in shame, and this shows the horrible nature of the acts committed there. Sensitive people cannot but feel xxxxx consternation to see the authorities xxxxx trying to introduce repression so soon after that event. But people who are bold and strong by nature see in such disasters, whether personal or national, only indications of the future advancement of our country. Be that as it may; it is never proper for the authorities to tease their poor subjects.

Non-co-operation and the Aligarh college.

NCS

74. In a leading article under the heading 'non-co-operation and the Aligarh College', the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 30th October, strongly condemns Mr.Gandhi's intereference with the students of that college, and observes that it is absolutely necessary to check the spread of this part of the non-co-operation movement to other parts of the country.

Boslshevism and Dyerism--which is more reputable?

PA

77. Under the heading "Bolshevism and Dyerism--which is more reputable?" the Malabar ISLAM publishes two articles, a part or whole of which purports to be a translation of Mr. Bernard Howton's article in the INDIA. Adverting to Sir R

Reginald Craddock's reference to the Bolshevik menace to India and Burma, the first article says, "It is amusing indeed to see one of the officess of India deriding Bolshevism. What sort of a law is the Rowlatt Act? Of what kind are the Punjab atrocities? In what way did Dyer and O'Dwyer come to be revered by official and non-official Anglo-Indians? If these things are not despicable nothing can be. As a matter of fact, it will be seen that Bolshevists are not spreading a religion of cruelty. . ." The following contrast is drawn between the policy of the allies and that of the Bolshevists. "The Bolshevists want all peace treaties to be public while the allies want them to be private; the Bolshevists have granted self-government to seven countries that separated off from Russia, but Great Britain has not only withheld full freedom from Ireland, India and Mesopotamia but tries to deny it to Egypt too; the Bolshevists ~~have~~ are endeavouring to establish peace while the allies are preparing for war; the Bolshevists have kept their word, but the allies have acted in contravention of it in their dealings towards Germany, Ireland, Mesopotamia and Syria and they are trying to do the same thing with Egypt; the Bolshevists are trying their best to educate children, while the Government of India have been negligent in the discharge of this duty. In these circumstances how can Indians help wishing to know the real secret of the Bolshevik DHARMA before joining with the Government of India to fight against it? They have begun to understand that many things which their government are denouncing are really conducive to their welfare. What is the objection then to decide that Bolshevism is not so bad as Dyerism?"

The final effect of non-co-operation on Muhammadan college.

Genl

86. The MUSHIR-I-DAKHAN, of the 8th November, in giving a list of the annual contributions made to the Aligarh College by British Government and various Indians States for the information of certain gentlemen who are assuredly ignorant as to how the financial

status of the college will be affected by the refusal of the Government grant, asks the people to consider that the stopping of the Government grant will mean a reduction of seventy thousand rupees, annually in the ~~xxxx~~ income and what effect will be produced on the indigenous States, and pertinently inquires what will be the financial state of the college when the supplies from both these sources are cut off.

Presidential address delivered by the editor at the Khilafat Conference in Rajahmundry.

Khil

89. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 8th November, has a portion of the address read by the editor Maulana Sharar at Rajahmundry in a meeting of the Godavari District Khilafat Conference, in the course of which he said: The ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Government of our masters have not yet put full pressure on us. They are still preparing and are collecting all their forces, but soon the door of severity and harshness will be open. Thereafter a more calamitous and severe period will arrive. The Prophet said: There will be four disturbances in this community and the last will end in bloodshed.

In its issue of the 9th November, the paper has another portion of the address in which among other matters the following occurs:--At present all nations and all Powers are on one side and the heart and soul of Islam are on the other. The artifice in the world signifies the arms and weapons that are being used, and every individual sect, tribe and society are rising against Mussalmans. As to this the Prophet has predicted thus:--"Shortly other people will fall onyou just as hungry men fall upon a dinner table. This will be done when your faith gets weak and when you seek ~~a~~ worldly pleasures and hate death."

This tradition is now being literally fulfilled.

The reverse sustained by the Turk in the war is called by the English a 'De feat', and the treaty with Turkey is termed 'Peace'. Many people are disappointed at this defeat

and peace, and some think that the end has come.

The speaker here compares the defeat and peace to the defeat and peace of the Prophet at Hudibia near Mecca and says:-- "By the Hudibia treaty the enemies were pleased and xx now by the Turkish treaty the foes of Islam are glad. God turned the defeat at Hudibia into a signal success."

So we must regard xx the treaty made by the Khalifa of the apostle as a success and should promise our hearts and soulds that we will convert this treaty into one of vixxxxx victory and change disappointment into success.

The same paper in a leader comments on the remarks of Colonel Wedgwood, establishing the chivalry of the Turks, and asks whether we should believe the Colonel or Mr.Lloyd George who has tried to paint the Turks' face as black as Welsh coal!

The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 8th November, has an article against the boycott of public schools in which the writer enumerates the difficulties that xx are likely to accrue.

<u>For the week ending 20th November 1920</u>

<u>No. 47 of 1920</u>

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Government of India on non-co-operation

1. Writing under this heading, the COCHIN ARGUS, for the week ending 13th November, observes:--"The latest resolution just published, of the Government of India on the subject of the so-called non-violent non-co-operation movement is a remarkably mild and temperate document, one of whose x main objects is apparently to conciliate and placate those who are the avowed enemies alike of constituted authority and the moral and material security and welfare of general community. The Government of India reaffirms its conviction that the movement is disloyal and unconstitutional, but there will not be many, we think, who will accept as convincing the reasons advanced by the Government in support of its decision to abstain from

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active and stern measures to rid the country of an acknowledged and grave peril. In the first place, we are told, the Government has been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and freedom, of the press at a time when the country is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realisation o of the principle of self-government within the Empire, and when, indeed, the first electionsare already in sight. If it were only interference with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press, repressive measures would most certainly be unwise and reprehensible, but Mr.Gandhi and his co-agitators have been guilty, over the over again, of offences of a far more heinous and dangerous nature. It is not liberty of speech when a man like Mr.Gandhi, who should know the full and exact significance of his views and sentiments, daily and hourly incites the people to paralyse a wicked, satanic Government, which, according to him, is hopelessly beyond moral reclamation. This sort of thing can be stigmatised by no other epithet than treason, and to let it go on unchecked, on the flimsy pretext that liberty of speech should not be interfered with, is nothing short of weak statesmanship . . . So the Government is fully cognizant of all this. It is not ignorant of the expressed intentions of the principal exponants of the cult of passive rebellion. It is not ignorant we take it, of all that these principal exponents are saying and doing to bring their intentions to fruition. Surely, it shouldnot need the least stretch of the imagitation to see that these principal exponents themselves are deliberately showing the seed of rebellion. It may be rebellion in the guise of passive resistance or of non-violent non-co-operation but it is rebellion for all that, and such being the case, why are these principal exponents left free to carry forward their propaganda? . . . The Government of India states, in its resolution, that it has contented itself with instructing Local Governments to take action against those persons only, who have, by speech or writing, exceeded the original

limits of the movement and openly incited the people to violence or sought to tamper with the loyalty of the Army and the Police. Nodoubt, kas an individual here and there who has offended in these aggravated forms, has been criminally prosecuted and brought to conviction, but here again, the action of the responsible authorities is open to very serious criticism. Lesser offenders have been proceeded against, but the arch agitators continue to enjoy amazing immunity. Are the authorities not aware, for instance, that, in not a few of the public utterances of Messrs.Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, there have bee implied yet unmistakable suggestions of a dangerous character, to troops and Police? The answer, we think, is to be found in a significant admission in the very resolution we are noticing. . . Yet, if we interpret the Government of India's latest resolution correctly constituted authority means to continue its policy of unmasterly inactivity towards the non-co-operation peril. In fact, the Government of India would almost seem to have borrowed a leaf from the Gandhi gospel and to have made up its mind to go in for passive resistance to sinister forces that are steadily proceeding on their career of anarchy, and destruction."

Trade Unionism in India

2. NEW INDIA, of the 18th November, writes:--"There are certain sections of people in this country who will never learn, it seems to us. Some Anglo-Indian journals are the exponents of the creed of such folk. Our contemporary, the MADRAS MAIL, comes out with an article on the subject of Trade Unionism in India in its issue of Tuesday last which exemplifies our contention. When, in 1914-15, we began the campaign for Home Rule for India, the MAIL AND its comrades opposed and fought us and the Indian public at every turn, and argued that India was not rready for Home Rule, that we and others were but a mere minority and did not represent the true Indian sentiment.

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"Now the MAIL comes out with similar talk on the progress of the Labour movement in this country. . . Our contemporary refers to enormous profits of Bombay mill-owners and calls for retaliatative action. We agree; but why punish the Indian employers of labour in Bombay and let go the foreign onesin Calcutta or Madras, in ~~xyx~~ Cawnpur or Coimbatore? Does our contemporary know of the conditions under which some of the labourers in this city live? . . . The MAIL has another pet argument which is again put forward. It says:-- . . "Indaa is trying to begin today not where England left off a hundred years ago, but where England left off yesterday." Is it not possible for an individual or a nation to learn from the experience of another? Must the Indian labourer necessarily pass through all the bitter struggle and strife of his British comrade? Why should he not gain by the struggle and experience of his British brother? ~~Wh~~ India should take advantage of the experience of other countries, and therefore India should begin with the latest developments in the world.

"The Indian labourer has been exploited too long. He is enslaved and he must be taught to break his fetters. Conditions which prevail today, if continued, will breed a revolution of war; Trade Unionism and similar work will bring about a revolution of peace."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in New Zeland.

4. Quoting an extract from a contribution, to the BOMBAY CHRONICLE describing the miserable plight of the Indians in New Zealand, who are said to number more than 1,000 the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th November, observes:--It is perhaps the wish of the Almight that suffering should be the lot of the Indians in every part of the world. It is stated that huge efforts are being made to get rid of all the Indians there. In fact, the latter do not seem to enjoy any special privileges in that place. While so, why should the whites be wrath with

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them? Why should they shudder at sight of the black skin? Why have they forgotten that India is feeding lakhs of their race? What would have been the fate of the British by now if the Indians had not helped in the great war? We have only to class, as the worst of cowards, those who, ignoring all this, selfishly try to oust the few Indians from New Zealand. Unless India attains SWARAJ, such grievances will never disappear.

Indians in Ceylon

7. Referring to some of the planters in Ceylon having expressed a fear at a recent meeting of theirs that they might not secure labourers from India so easily hereafter and appealed to the Government to provide work for those Indians, who are out of employment, until they can be taken over by the planters themselves, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th November:-- says:--The proceedings of the meeting referred to above make it clear that the planters, who are anxious to be spared the double expenditure they will have to incur if the Indian coolies return to India, are not inclined to satisfy these coolies and improve their condition. Their appeal to the Colonial Government to retain the coolies till they are taken over by them should open our eyes. As long as India is supplying coolies to European capitalists of other countries, Indian mirasidars and Indian industries ~~and Indian in~~ will have to suffer and the progress of India will be impeded. It is not at all fair that the officials and others in India should quietly look on when the European planters in Ceylon are taking Indian coolies there with the help of the Government. Considering the low wages paid to the Indian coolies there and and the severe punishments, inflicted on them for trivial offences and seeing that the planters are contriving to retain the Indians there alone in perpetual slavery, the leaders and the Government of India are bound to make this impossible. It is really unjust on the planters there to prevent the coolies returning to India and we are surely entitled to insist

upon our Government interfering in the matter. The Indians in Ceylon need not be afraid that they may not get work in their motherland. We would urge on the mirasidars and the Government to take such steps as will secure work for them after their return.

Speech of the Under Secretary for Colonies.

12. Referring to an after-dinner speech made by Lieut-Colonel Emergy, Under Secretary for Colonies, at the Savoy Hotel, in which he is reported to have given out that East Africa being the storehouse of all Nature's products, every attempt should be made to turn the same into a white colony, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 15th November, writes:-- This speech clearly indicates the wide gulf that exists between the principles of British justice and those of the Under Secretary for the Colonies. We make bold to assert that all those who try to create feelings of bitterness between the British ~~justice and those of the Under Secretary for the Colonies.~~ ~~We make~~ and the Indians are traitors to the British Empire. Neither the British nor the Indians can live and thrive without mutual co-operation. It is, therefore, the duty of all responsible British people not to allow any scope to injurious attempts of this kind to succeed and to work with the idea that the prosperities of England and India are interdependent.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Canada and India.

21. Referring to the varied opinions that are being expressed on the change that has been made in the creed of the Congress and the view of some that India may be completely ruined by this change, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th November, remarks that, when even a class of people that have the same religion, language and habits as the ruling race in the England, wish to become independent, it is no wonder that India, kept down under a foreign yoke for years, desires to

have SWARAJ and, pointing to Canada administered by able statesmen sent by Egngland, and having its own Parliament being disinclined to continue the old relationship between hesself and England, adds:--While thewhole world is turning upside down, it is surprising that, in India alone, some are against even the ordinary aspirations of the people. Cannot these big men learn a lesson at least from foreign countries?

The DAILY CHRONICLE of India

24. Characterising as a babble the statement of the DAILY CHRONICLE of London that India will deserve the treatment meted out to Egypt only when her civilization becomes as much advanced as that of Egypt and her national feeling becomes as patent, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th November, observes:--This paper should note that India has an ancient and excellent civilization like Egypt and that there are persons who deem the civilization of India to be more ancient and famous than that of Egypt. But, perhaps, this paper thinks ~~that~~ India is backward in civilization, because the Indians do their work quietly. Its attitude may change, if the Indians work out the non-co-operation movement resolutely like the people of Egypt.

A compliment to Dyer.

25. Adverting to the unanimous resolution passed by European Association of Calcutta that the action of General Dyer in the Jallianwalla Bagh was just and that he acted only as great heroes and naval commanders are expected to do in such circumstances, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th November, asks whether there is any untruth in the statement of some that the Indians should cease to co-operate not only with the Government that sanctioned a pension to that 'great wretch', Dyer, but also with the Englishmen, that support this wretch, who brutally massacred thousands of innocent people.

The non-co-operation movement

26. Referring with appreciation to the propagandist work done in connexion with this

movement in the villages, by patriots like Mahadeva Ayyar of Tuticorin, Adisesha Nayudu of Madura, Swami Arpudananda Subrahmanya Nayanar of Sattur, Swaminatha Sastriyar of Trichinopoly, N.L.Durai and Satyagraha Ramachandra Ayyar, the DESABHAKTAN of the 11th November, says that it is more in villages than in towns that the non-co-operation movement should spread and that it is only this that will strengthen it and asks whether others also will come forward to work like these.

The non-co-operation movement

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th November also refers to the communique issued by the Government of India on this subject and, remarking that, as they cannot be unaware of the nature of this movement and of the steps to be taken to put a stop to it and establish real peace in the country, they are only trying to deceive the people by issuing this meaningless communique, writes:--In spite of the pronouncement of Lord Willingdon and the Government of India that the non-co-operation movement is unconstitutional, we submit it is not so. We will say that no movement can be more constitutional that than this. The Indians, seeing that the policy of the Government was not sound, pointed out their defects peacefully and, finding it to be of noavail, they concemned them strongly and urged for their removal. When the Government of India would not move even for this, a small section of the people tried to use force; but they were crushed by the Government, whose force was greater. All the same, the Government did not remove the cause that led to the people resorting to force, Just at this juncture came the great world war, whose basic principle were liberty and independence. What wonder then that the old movement gave room to one for the acquisition of SWARAJ? Now the Indians are not for anything but SWARAJ. If, under these circumstances, they are not for using force, what other weapon can they handle than non-co-operation to bring to their way a Government, which refuses to grant them SWARAJ but would give only Legislative councils with meagre powers? We hope

If a race, which wishes to acquire SWARAJ soon, is not granted it ~~wixkx x~~ and is also prevented from resorting to non-co-operation, it is tantamount to asking it to wage war. We hope this is not the object of the Government. If it is not so, it is their duty to avoid during the movement ~~x~~ to resort to methods of compulsion and,yielding to the opinion of the majority of the people, if they favour non-co-operation, grant complete Home Rule to this country. Instead of this, the Government of India have brought about the severe punishment of some connected with this movement and are threatening others. It seeks the help of the moderates and attempts to deceive the ordinary people on the one hand and terrify them on the other. It complains that the people are not grateful to it for having released political prisoners. When the people ~~g~~ have been saying that the imprisonment and deportation of these persons were themselves acts of despotism, do the bureaucrats really expect the people to jump with joy at these prisoners, having been released suddenly, after being subjected to any amount of hardship? The Indians have not forgotten that the Savarkar brothers are still in the Andamans for nothing. It is not known how many more are detained like this. To expect appreciation underthese circumstances is really surprising. It is indeed funny that bureaucracy should still have faith in the principle of 'Rally the moderates' which was tried by Mr.Morley but failed. Let the Government understand the influence these moderates have over the people at least from the statement of Sir Dinshaw ~~these-moderate~~ Watcha that his party is losing strength gradually. Were the Italian moderates able to postpone the acquisition of liberty by Italy? Were the French moderates able to put off the people gaining power? It is very hard for us to believe that the bureaucrats expect the Indian moderates to achieve what was impossible for others of their class. This communique tried to threaten the people by saying that, if SWARAJ is introduced in one year, there will be confusion in the country and that it ~~wxxxd~~ cannot ward off the attack of foreiners

Are the Government afraid that, if SWARAJ is secured, the Indians cannot conduct an army? We do not believe that the Indian Ministers will dispense with English Chamber Commanders the moment SWARAJ is established. There is no doubt that they will be retained on suitable salaries. But if the Bureaucrats is no doubt that they will be retained on suitable salaries. But if the bureaucrats say that these Commanders will not like to continue, we will reply that we will not die on account of their absence. We have not forgotten that many ordinary men were trained to lead the English and French armies within a year after the beginning of the German war. There has been no lack of valiant men in this country in the past. So the Government need not oppose the non-co-operation movement on the ground that this country will be helpless, if it has SWARAJ. We will also impress on the Government with all the strength we possess, that it cannot be suppressed by threats. The Indian people have become self-conscious and what they want is that the Government should act as they like. Until the Government do this, the movement willnot cease. Communiques, repressive measures or the patting of the people and the moderates will not help to suppress it. It will disappear only if the present 'toy' election is stopped the franchise is extended to all men and women in India and complete powers of Government are entrusted to the representatives elected by them. We would try to believe still that the Government willnote this, avoid repression , investigate carefully the force and the causes of the non-co-operation movement, cancel the present reforms and issue promptly a new communique granting real Home Rule.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 3rd November, refers to Messrs.

Non-co-operation movement

Gandhi, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali having influenced the students of the Aligarh College and, reporting Mr.Muhammad Ali to have stated in a lecture that he is bent upon rooting out the British Government, observes:--The rude efforts

of these three have xxxx resulted in spoiling the aeducation of students. This policy will not benefit the country, but will mx only lead to violence, resulting eventually perhaps in another disturbance like that of the Punjab. So let out Government and x the wise in the country bestow attention on the matter and preserve peace.

Commenting on the Government communique about the non-co-opeation movement, the NAVASAKTI, of the 12th November, remarks that, while drafting this communique the Government of India should have evidently lost their wits, and reiterating the view of other papers, that this movement will stop, the moment justice meted out for the massacre of the Punjab and the injustice of the Khilafat, adds:--It is not wise to resort to repression, without finding out the root cause and doing the needful. Perhaps the Government of India are under the impression that, as a result of this movement, there will be unrest and anarchy in the land! We will assure them that no manner of disturbance will result in our country under the advice of Mr.Gandhi. The Government declare the movement to be unconstitutional. Let them clearly point out in what particular ways it is so. The Government think that the educated classes in India do not support this movement and that the people will themselves give it up, seeing that it will breed unrest and disturbance in the country. We opine, on the other hand, that every Indian, in whom pure blood is circulating supports this movement, that this will develop a feeling of patriotism in the country and never lead to any disturbance and that it is only title-holders, title-hunters, those seeking wealth, Government posts and the position of minister and other enemies of the country that dislike it. ~~Though the Government of India court the aid of the moderates to correct it.~~ Though the Government of India court the aid of the moderates to correct and convince the people in regard to this movement, we presume they will not co-operate with the Government whole-heartedly. If the Government, instead of indicating their

intention of resorting to repression in case the movement gains in strength and the moderates cannot put it down, had offered to try their utmost to mete out justice for the Punjab massacre and the Khilafat, it would have greatly helped to restore peace in the country. What should a non-co-operator, ~~xxxxy~~ following the advice of Mr.Gandhi, do now? For this movement to succeed, every non-co-operator should act like Mr.Gandhi. If, armed with the weapons of patience and truth, we carry on the war of non-co-operation righteously, success is sure to be ours in the end.

Non-co-operation

Remarking that it is saints and religious teachers that have helped to build kingdoms in India, the TAMIL NADU, of the 24th October, characterises Mr.Gandhi as a great soul that has come forward to encourage India, which has not disheartened as a result of repressive laws and unjust acts like the Punjab massacre, and instil a new spirit into it and adds:--He has given a rude shake to the British Government and it is because the reward of the Indians for loyal co-operation for the last 150 years has been only the Rowlatt Law and the Punjab incident. The people of this land expected that at least wretches like General Dyer would be punished; even this has not been done. The Indians are shedding tears of blood. It may be Lord Chelmsford's Government are not aware of this: but God and the world know it. The patriots in India have begun their penance, with Mr.Gandhi as their GURU; for establishing righteousness in India. The fire of non-~~xx~~ co-operation is blazing forth. Some selfish Indian goblins are trying to spoil this penance. The harlot of reforms is trying to unsettle the minds of the patriots. Some have fallen a prey to it. The cloud of repression is hovering over those doint penance. This is the present condition of India. The only advice we can give to the Tamilians at this juncture is to stand by the principle of non-co-operation resolutely and wit with an undaunted mind, for there can be no ~~xxxxxxx xxxxxxx~~

victory without determination.

The DESABHIMANI, of the 31st October, says:--On the strength of the opinion of Mr.S.Srinivasa Ayyangar, that the non-co-operation movement ~~im~~ is unconstitutional, His Excellency Lord Willingdon unwisely condemned it. The HINDU says that Mr.Ayyangar has stated ~~t~~ at Cuddalore that he declared the movement as unconstitutional viewed from the standpoint of the constitution of the Congress and regretted that His Excellency the Governor had criticised it on the strength of that opinion. It is deplorable that His Excellency has, taking the opinion of that shortsighted leader as his authority, held forth the ~~xxxxx~~ threat that he would suppress the movement. History proclaims that any attempt to put down a good action. movement only tends to rouse the people from lethargy and make them men of action. Lord Willingdon and His Excellency the Viceroy will do well to note this principle and show their statesmanship. Will the authorities who are intoxicated with arbitrary power note this important matter.

Non-co-operation

The RYOTPATRIKA, of the 27th September (received on the 16th October), raises the question whether the non-co operation movement will succeed and answers it as follows:--If the movement is successfully carried on, it will soon bear fruit. If, on the other hand, the people do not agree with one another and like the moderates and the extremists are intent on bringing about the destruction of each other, ~~a~~ the patriots fear that the bureaucracy who have long enjoyed political power, will note the weakness, the disunion, and the dependence of the Indians, pursue their arbitrary policy, rally one party and trouble the other.

Non-co-operation

The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 23rd October, appeals in its leader to the candidates to the Councils to withdraw their candidature and to the voters to refrain from voting and remarks:-It is evident that India's money and men are being spent for

Non-co-operation

reducing to subjection foreign independent States.

A correspondent to the BALABHARATI, of the 8th October (received on the 29th October), exhorts the voters to abide by the order of the Congress and not to vote for any candidate. In the course of his exhortation, he remarks that "in the Punjab thousands of India's sons were killed by some Rakshasas (?) (demons)", and that "many are groaning under all sorts of difficulties in the Fiji Islands and in the South Africa."

Non-co-operation

A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th October, appeals to voters not to vote at the coming elections. He exhorts them to abide by the decision of the Congress and refuse their assent to bureaucracy and to cruelty like the 'Punjab outrages', He adds, "Before the arrival of the Duke of Connaught in India, the Indians will discard the transferred subjects and determine to have independence."

Non-co-operation

Referring to the various phases that are developing andthe attempts that are being made by Government to set back the non-co-operation movement, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 12th November, observes:--Although Mr.Gandhi and the Ali Brothers are being accused of spoiling the minds of the youths, ax we feel convinced that no one will deem the promoters of the non-co-operation movement to be enemies of education. They have taken up in right earnest ~~and~~ the problem of national education. Why should be blamed for boycotting the present system of education, when Government, with all their inexhaustible resources of money and talent, ~~ah~~ have not, even after such a long time, been in a position to spread education far and wide among their subjects in a satisfactory manner? Up till now, what have the Government, ~~with all their inexhaustible resources of money and talent, have not, even after such a long time, been in p a position to spread education far and wide~~

Non-co-operation

~~among-their-subjects-in-a-satisfactory-manner?--Up-ti~~
done in the Department of Education which is of lasting benefit to the people? What percentage of the people have been taught to read and write? What policy has been adopted even in the matter of University education? What more substantial has been done inthe name of education than stuffing the youghtful minds of this country with English thought, English poetry and English history? Has any provision been made for imparting scientific education? How many industrial institutions and art schools have been opened? Government dara not give any satisfactory reply to any of the above questions, because it is too well known that they have not done any such thing. The only right course left open to the Government, therefore, is to stand aside and make way for those who are attempting to chalk out a new path in the field of education and root block their way.

In the course of a leaderette, the MYSORE STAR, of the 14th November, writes:-

Non-co-operation

Mr.Gandhi, having failed to bring into his fold the educated and the rich, has now began to enthuse the common people such as students, artisans and pesants. His advice to his countrymen to boycott the English Government is creating hatred in the minds of Indians against the British. It is impossible to believe that common people untrained talents can make use of his tenets without becoming slaves to passions. This movement, therefore, is bound to result in hatred towards Government, and there is no knowing what disasters it will bring upon this country. . .

It is the sheer misfortune of this country that non-co-operators should have taken to the wrong path of inciting hatred towards Government at a time when the Department of Education is going to be handed over to the charge of the people. . . Looking to the conditions at present prevailing here, we are led to suspect that the Bolsheviks may have had a hand in this matter. . .

Next, referring to the circular issued by the Government of India on the subject, the paper proceeds:--All far-sighted and patriotic Indians will surely accept the advice given in the circular as highly salutary. Some of the non-co-operators will, perhaps, not rest content until the English leave the shares of India in a body. But is this possible and do the people at all wish it? Never. It is, therefore, far better to co-operate with the Government and make use of the recently-granted political rights, to promote the interests of the country than struggle for an impossible ideal and allow scope for discontent in the land.

Non-co-operation

Referring to a statement appearing in a sheet published in America that allover India there is a general renouncement of titles and a general boycott of British Government and that the Government is preparing for a general slaughter to teach the people a lesson, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 16th November, in the course of an English article, writes:--"These publications are partly true and partly false. The best method of stopping the circulation of such unfounded news is to show to the Indians by practical deeds that the interests of the British people are not opposed to the interests of the Indians and that the British people are not all desirous of exploiting India solely for the benefit of England. If this is practically shown, this misrepresentation must and will stop. There was some time ago an information going round the press stating that 100 students from the Punjab were deported to the Andamans without any trial merely on suspicion that they were working forthe independence of India. The Publicity Bureau says that they have never heard of such an incident. It is a matter for extreme regret that such unfounded rumours are created and that no proper measures are taken to stem the tide of such rumours. Let the Government be just and fair all round, these unfounded rumours will melt away like a puff of smoke."

30. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th November, publishes a cartoon in which Mrs.Besant congratulates mother Bharata on her fortune in having obtained the chaff of Legislative Councils from her sister, whohas taken the rice of power, as wages for her labour and mother Bharata stands against at the congratulation. Here the sister is depicted as a European lady and named 'Kalakanti', a character in the play of Harichandra noted for her hardheartedness.

England and India

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31. Remarking that the Madras Publicity bureau, though a department of theGovernment, has now taken to politics, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 12th November, refers to its having published a portion of a lecture delivered by the late Mr. Gokhale in 1909 so as to apprise the public of his opinion on non-co-operation and observes:--It is an unwise act to connect the opinion expressed by one who died about ten years ago with a movement that has started recently. The world has undergone many changes after 1909. Our question is whether Mr.Gokhale would express the same opinion now, had he been living and witnessed the Punjab massacres and the dismemberment of Turkey. Further, we cannot find out any connexion between the lecture of Mr.Gokhale published by the Publicity Bureau and the non-co-operation movement. We very much regret that, by publishing such useless matter, the Bureau is losing the esteem which the public have for them.

Non-co-operation and the Publicity bureau

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33. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 12th November, refers to the appeal of Mr.Baptista to boycott the Government Post office and the tram-cars in Bombay, in view of that Government not having come to the rescue of the strikers there, and observes:--If similar strikes had occurred in England, neither the Government nor the people would have kept quiet. We wish all Indians would render assistance to Mr.Baptista in his endeavours.

The labour question in India

Lab

Referring to the case for damages of Rs.75,000 launched By Messrs.Binny & Co., and others against Meessrs.Wadia, Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, Ramanjulu Nayudu and others, who are the leaders of the Labour Union and the issue of a temporary injunction by the Court against the above persons advising the labourers in the Buckingham Mills to cease working it conditions become difficult and laymen not to accept service therein, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 12th November urges the necessity of the Labour Unions as a whole trying to obtain justice in this case and observes:--British capitalists, who establish mills in this country and make a mint of money through them, are trying to deprive the people of even the privileges obtaining commonly in western countries. It is a surprise to us that, at this time when the Labourers of the coal mines in England have, by striking work, obtained an additional wage of one rupee per diem over the seven rupees a day they were already getting, the mill owners in this country should endeavour to cut at the root of the very fundamental rights of the labourers. The mill operatives in Italy have in a way succeeded in their agitation that they themselves should manage the affairs of the mills and that the capitalists should be satisfied with the bate interest and a little profit. But here the foreign capitalists and, imitating them, the Indian capitalists too are trying to deprive the labourers of the right of co-operation and striking work and of their liberty generally! But as a result of the work of Messrs.Wadia and others the labourers of this country have now woke up and it is no longer possible either to intimidate them or to put them down. Until this case is finally disposed of , it is incumbent on the public also to help the labourers, who are not willing to work in the mills.

36. Remarking that it is unfortunate for the British Empire, that, while the number of persons in Parliament sympathising with India is very small, many of her enemies are among its members, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th November, says:--

Enemies to India to Parliament

It is the sincere opinion of the latter that the Indians should, for ever, remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. The questions that members like Lord Sydenham in the Lords and like Colonel Yate and Sir Joynson Hicks in the commons have been asking for the last few days on Indian matters, are disgusting and provoking. Their chief business is to afford all possible protection to the Europeans and British troops in India. How could they support political reforms and the non-co-operation movement under such circumstances? They seem also to be afraid of the consequences of the non-co-operationists resorting to force; otherwise they would not have complained in Parliament that, under the new Arms Act, the Europeans in India could not have a sufficient number of cartridges. We think the Arms Act has been amended only with the object of securing sufficient ammunition to Europeans in India for hunting wild animals. If a few, transgressing their rights, take to man-hunting, it is but just that they should be immediately punished. But there is no room to think that a such course has been followed. Indians cannot but condemn strongly the grant of permission to to the Anglo-Indians to possess cartridges in excess. Sir Joynson Hicks has asked some questions about the liberal recommendation of the Joint Committee that the civil servants, who dislike the Reforms Act and wish to go back, may be retired on suitable pensions. If the civil servants go away, the administration will not be impaired. But the Indians cannot agree to their being granted handsome pensions.

37. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th November, also refers to the Publicity Bureau having published a lecture delivered by the late Mr.Gokhale some years back and remarking that the

The activities of the Publicity Bureau

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fact of the Bureau interfering in affairs unconcerned with itself shows that it is its connexion with the bureaucracy and the latter's interest in it that affect its fair procedure, observes:--There may be a discussion among politicians as to whether it is proper for students to boycott the schools in connexion with non-co-operation. But an impartial body like the Bureau has no right to interfere in this matter. As however this movement is not liked by it, it perhaps thought that the opinion of an Indian would have be tter effect than its own. The expenditure on stationery, etc., incurred in this connexion is only a waste. We cannot understand the connexion between the publicity Bureau and the question of students taking part in politics. Opinions change according to circumstances. Can the Bureau declare that Mr.Gokhale will not associate himself with the non-co-operation movement if he were alive at present? If the opinions of deceased persons are to be followed by the people coming after them, are the Government prepared to act accordingly? The Marqui s of Hastings who was the the Governor-General of India in 1818, stated that at one time England would have to withdraw from exercising authority in India and that she should be prepared to do so with pleasure, after entering into an agreement with India in regard to trade. If the present British Ministers had been prepared to follow this antiquated advice, India ought to have obtained SWARAJ long ago. We request the Bureau to remind the British Government of this old tale. Then again the Bureau's answer to a query in the JUSTICE, whether it is an offence for candidate, under the Election Rules, to take voters in carriages, makes it clear that it is dabbling in a subject of which it is ignorant. According to the wording of the rules, the candidate is prohibited only from engaging a carriage for the hire or paying the hire of a carriage for taking a voter to the polling station; but there is nothing to prevent the candidate from either lending his own carriage, or asking any of his friends to lend his carriage for the purpose. This interpretation has been

accepted in England also and the carriages of the friends of the candidates are used in elections. It is fortunate that the Publicity Bureau is not the High Court. Until the Judges give their interpretatio n of the Law, that of the Bureau will have any value.

Colonel Frank Johnson and the Indians

38. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th November, regrets to learn that Colonel Frank Johnson, whom it describes as having treated Indians worse than brutes last year, has started business, in India and that some Indians have began to help him and, remarking that such mean persons can find a living only in India, adds:--Though it is the principle of the Indians to forgive one who afflicts, we strongly condemn their helping one who sullied their honour, which is valued higher than life. We will not deem such Indians as help Colonel Johnson to be Indians, and we will not condemn these being completely boycotted in all social functions by true Indians. It is because Colonel Johnson and other minor deities have not been punished properly, that the Indians have now have begun the non-co-operation movement. That some Indians should, at this juncture, come forward to assist this cruel man is tantamount to sullying the honour of mother Bharata.

India in Parliament

40. Referring to certain questions recently asked in Parliament about the non-Brahmans, the DRAVIDAN, of the 3 rd November, characterises a funny the reply given on behalf of the Secretary of State to the question of Colonel Yate about the supersession of certain non-Brahman Deputy Collectors by the Government of Madras in the appointment of District Collectors and observes:--It is only the reply of the Brahman Government obtaining under Lord Willingdon, that will resound everywhere! It is only our useless faith in the Government that makes us doubt it! Questions were also asked about the condemnation by the non-Brahmans of the rumoured appointment of Sir P.Rajagopala Achariyar as the

President of the new Legislative Council of Madras and about the Women's College in Triplicane. No proper answers were given to them. We can get our legitimate political privileges only if we agitate resolutely and vigorously.

41. Remarking that it is no exaggeration to say that India once excelled all countries in the world in every respect, the NAVASAKTI, of the 12th November, refers to the description of Rev.Mr.Andrews about the way in which Indians are now treated in the colonies and observes:--When the Indians have not all the rights of British subjects even within the British Empire, it is unnecessary for us to say how they are treated elsewhere. It is for our brethren to ponder over why we, who are born in a land full of resources, should be insulted like this by the world. No serious research is necessary to find out the reason. The land of our birth is not in our control. We have no SWARAJ We are bound by the rule of the bureaucrats. As we are a subject nation, they are not treated as men wherever they go. Mr.Gandhi co-operated with the Government for thirty years, in the hope that the condition of the people will be improved and he has started the non-co-operation movement now, only because he sees the position of India going down day by day. It is only this movement that can get rid of the bondage of India. Brothers and sisters! compare the past condition of India with our present position. We were feeding others; but we are now begging for food. Arise! Prepare yourself for sacrifice! Follow Mr.Gandhi.

Position of India in the world

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42. In the course of a leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th November, observes:--Many of the Englishmen think that the present bureaucratic rule will soon come to an end in India; and yet the majority of them want to postpone this day as far as possible and are working for it. As long as this rule continues, they can count upon all

A novel method

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kinds of comforts and power. So, they are devising novel means to continue it as long as possible like a man who is sure of his death trying to adopt measures which will prolong his life. The suggestion now made is to spread Christianity in India, which, in the opinion of two writers, would remove the increasing misunderstanding between the educated classes and the English officials and help to continue the administration of the latter without any obstruction. They think this Presidency is most suitable for their beginning the work of proselytization. This is a curious suggestion indeed. But, the example of Egypt will prove that Christians will stand by the officials against the interests of the Hindus as long as they are in the minority and that, when they become the majority, they will, of their own accord, begin to oppose the Government, as they will then directly feel the effects of the administration. It is the God common to both the Christians and the Hindus that has created in the mind of man a love of justice and a desire for liberty. How are we to appreciate the devotion of these people, who, pretending to work for God and religion, wish to strengthen the fetters of India. As it is the force of God that is now steering India towards her redemption, let the writers referred to above and others know that the effort of no one can prevent.

Government of India's resolution on the non-co-operation movement.

46. In reviewing the resolution of the Government of India on the non-co-operation movement, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 10th November, says in its leader:--We do not find in the resolution even an attempt to trace the real cause of the movement. The new movement is an indication of the despondency of the people. It has been resorted to finally by the people after other attempts to free themselves from dificulties have failed. If the non-co-operation movement should disappear, the Government should grant the wishes of the people There is no use decrying the movement or its promoters. There can be no effect without a cause and we need not go far to seek

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the causes of the movement. They are plainly the Punjab and the Khilafat questions. It must be recognized that the people have real grievances. The Government have many an opportunity to redress them. Even a fool can see that it is useless to seek to suppress the symptoms of unrest without making use of such opportunities to remove the unrest. Neither the Government nor the Parliament have satisfied the people with regard to the Punjab question. Eminent English lawyers have given the opinion that it is not possible to obtain redress even through the English law courts. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the congressmen have decided to depend on self-help alone. If the Congress has erred in this matter, the Government ought to have pointed out the error in their resolution. Their failure to do so goes to strengthen the contention of the Congress. If the Government seek to publish to the world that the methods of the moderates only will bear fruit and that the congressmen are causing unnecessary confusion, they will do well to carry out at least the resolutions of the moderates at once. To discard, on the other hand, the aims of the moderates and extremists equally and encourage the moderates to oppose non-co-operation movement, will prove futile. It will be advantageous to grant the desires of the moderates first and then to entrust them with thid duty. If the causes of unrest are removed, the symptoms will at once disappear. The moderate leader Sir Chimanlal Setalwad says, "the Punjab outrages, the Khilafat question and the condition of the Indians in the colonies have injured the self-respect of the Indians and made them despondent. Until the root causes are removed, it will hardly be possible to make the people understand the dangers of Mr.Gandhi's movement. It is essential for the safety of both England and India to redress the grievances of the Indians." The new movement is taking root not only among the educated classes but also among the masses. This shows the firm resolve of the people. Mr.Bommanji has, with reference to the non-co-operation movement, stated that a self-respecting Indian could see no other way. The Government have already

resorted to a policy of repression. But the more the acts of repression, the greater will be the force that the movement will gather. Lord Morley has failed in his attempt to rally the moderates. There is only one remedy. As suggested by the PALL MALL GAZETTE, the grievances of the Indians should be carefully ascertained and redressed as far as possible.

Our future life.

49. The DESABHIMANI? of the 31st October, says under this heading:--It is a well-known fact that those nations that help themselves are helped by God, while those that are given to lethargy are doomed to ruin. India, which is subject to thraldom, and which is the abode of poverty and misery, is in such unhappy plight. Is India to maintain her individuality and live a free life or like a slave life a life of drudgery? Will the Indians lay down their own duties or have them laid down by others? Will India decide whether to live a manly or a mean life? Has she made up her mind not to care even for death in order to maintain her honour? The answer to these questions will decide our future life. Though the Indians have saved the British Empire from a series of evils by helping England with money and men, yet they have not escaped the Punjab horrors. The authorities have failed to punish those who were responsible for such horrors and thus proclaimed the helplessness of the Indians all the more. The Muhammadans fought without any fear of death and freed the British from slavery. Yet the latter have not granted their wish but have despised them. The lot of the coloured races in the colonies is worse than that of dogs. Where is their place for the coloured races to stand on? Where should they go? Who is their refuge? Should not the Indians under such circumstances be united? Should the Brahman and non-Brahman dispute flourish for the ruin of society? May the non-Brahmans remember the advice of Dharmaraja that the Pandavas and Kouravas should unite against any foreign invader though they quarrelled among themselves! In the eyes of the Government, both Brahmans and non-Brahmans

are slaves. There is no limit to the timidity of the moderates. Can there be two classes of politicians in the profession of servitude. Is he a man who does not say that he is fit for freedom and that k he wants freedom. It is inhuman to seek to plunge India in servitude for sometime under the pretext of the moderate view. The Indian who is bound by the shackles of a slave is not able to manifest complete zeal in the attainment of freedom. So the Indians hesitate to take the vow of GandhI's non-co-operation. The lawyers say they will not give up their profession till the establishment of the panchayat courts. The reason of this is that they have no faith in their ability. The students say that before they boycott educational institutions, national schools should be founded. When war was declared between England and Germany, students left their schools in large m numbers at a moment's notice, mm to defend their country. When boys ruling kingdoms were not anxious about their education, will the world be upset if our boys who spend their time in servitude go for two years without English education which sucking up our life blood. So long as the Indians do not take the SWARAJ vow and make themselves ready for entire renunciation, they will not be free from misery. The British Empire was built by men of action like Nelson and not by men of tall talk like Mr.Lloyd George. Kingdoms are earned and not granted as alms. In order to save the kingdom, the Indians have to sacrifice their all. If the Indians please the English by renunciation, the latter will certainly fulfil their wishes. Of this, America and Egypt may be cited as instances. Oh! Indians call to your minds the question of Hamlet, "to be or not to be?" Will you have national life or servitude, will you accept or reject non-co-operation?"

50. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 13th November, writes in its leader:--Ever since the English and the French have occupied Syria and Mesopotamia, chaos has prevailed there instead of peace. Armies are being sent there to suppress it. Farsighted people in England consider that the policy of meddling with the affairs of Mesopotamia and Persia should be avoided. While the evil results of imperialism are plainly visible in India, Ireland and Egypt, it is undesirable to extend it to new countries. The report of the Esher Committee is another source of fear. The report imposes new duties on the Indian army. The services of the Indian army can be availed of any where outside India. The Imperialists will not hesitate to use this opportunity as they please. The report will surely encourage the occupation of foreign country. India does not like that her armies should be used to deprive the people of other countries of their independence. . . The report of the Esher Committee makes the critical situation created by the Punjab and the Khilafat questions, still worse. If the English Government accept the report, an unbearable situation will be created and as stated by His Highness the Aga Khan, the Indian army, instead of being a help, will prove to be hindrance to the Empire and India cannot hope for SWARAJ. If the recommendations of the Esher Committee are carried out, India's burden of taxation will increase to the utter dissatisfaction of the Indians. It is plain from the present state of affairs that the sooner the country attains self-government, the better it is for her. The disabilities of the Indians in the colonies are heart-rending. How can Indians who do not enjoy liberty at home be respected outside? Justice has not yet been done them in the case of the Punjab outrages. How can they then protect the rights of their brethren in other countries. So it is that the Congress proved the necessity of the immediate securing of SWARAJ and pointed to self-help as the means. Lord Sydenham says that if the suggestions of the Aga Khan made in his article to the LONDON TIMES be accepted, the British

The present situation

have to discard their responsibilities to Mesopotamia, etc. If by the mandatory system the British have nothing to gain but have only to bear responsibilities, we do not see the reason why nobody has accepted responsibility about Armenia. Armenia has no oil-mines. . . . Lord Sydenham says that the Aga Khan has not realised that to carry out his suggestions, will effect British national honour. But his Lordship has not seen that the present situation itself is injurious to such honour. . . It is supremely necessary that a new angle of vision should be adopted for securing the peace of the world. The European races will soon realise the urgency of doing so.

The Khilafat Conference, Rajahmundry.

54. The GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 26th October, gives a short summary of the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference held at Rajahmundry and the resolution passed there at Rajahmundry and the resolution passed thereat adopting the resolution of the Congress on non-co-operation. It also contains a leaderete on the subject, in concluding which, it says:--The Government should not consider that a man here and a man there have been misled by Mr.Gandhi into adopting the policy of non-co-operation. They should know that both the Hindus and Muhammadans firmly believe that non-co-operation is their only refuge. They should understand that empty words will not make them give up their determination. The injustice done should be remedied. The Punjab outrages and the violation of the pledges made by Mr.Lloyd George are the root causes of the non-violent non-co-operation movement.

Prohibition of meetings

57. The GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 2nd November, refers to the order of the Head of the Punjab Government prohibiting meetings in certain places and remarks that the muzzling of mouths will not bring peace to the country, that the remedy does not reach the root of the evil, that such remedies have failed in the past, that they cannot be more effective than machine guns and Martial Law and that orders like the one

in question only tend to increase the discontent and excitement of the people.

63. Under this heading the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 6th November, (received on the 15th) publishes an article from the pen of Mr.B.Pattabhiseetharamayya to the following effect:--

Why the boycott movement?

. . . We have often represented to the Government our grievances in the administration. But they have turned a deaf ear to them. Further, they have broken all the assurances promising to give freedom to our country and offices to all alike without distinction of race, and have been gradually incrasing their own interest and profit in the administration of the country. When all the countries in the world have self-government and are improving Government by the people, willour country alone consent to be in perpetual bondage? . . . Since the Hindus and Muhammadans came to the rescue of the British when they were on the verge of defeat and won the victory for them, we have been entertaining hopes that the British will do us some justice after the termination of the war. But that hope soon proved to be an empty hope. The war ended in November 1918. From that to June 1919 they carried on arbitrary Government all over the country, and especially in the Punjab, placed editors of papers under restraint, im posed penalties on printing presses, and in the end perpetrated horrible acts in cities like Amritsar and Lahore. In violation of the pledges given in respect of the rights of Turkey, they imposed some stringent terms upon her and offered violence to the religious faith of the Muhammadans. Moreover, the political reforms held out with much ostentation from 1915-20 have gradually been whittled down to nothing,--becoming less in the report than in the Proclamation, in the Act than in the report, and in the rules than in the Act. It was for this reason that the Calcutta Congress of the 4th September took to the "Non-co-operation" movement. . .

KHILAFAT

. . . IIn contravention of proferred pledges, the Turkish Empire was proposed to be dismembered and the Khilafat, that is, the overlordship of the Sultan of Turkey, to be destroyed. Regulation 139 of the peace treaty lays down as follows:-- . . . This provision is harmful to the Muhammadans, for the Sultan of Turkey cannot hereafter exercise his authority as the spiritual lord over the Muhammadans of India. If the terms of the peace treaty are examined, it will be seen that a campaign was waged against Turkey. Though it is a fact that it is the work of the Allies, we cannot forget that the British have the chief responsibility in the matter.

THE PUNJAB

The bad administration of the Punjab, on the other hand is agitating the whole country. The authorities who transgressed laws and perpetrated outrages were not published, while ignorant people were subjected to punishments unknown in other countries for some small offences committed in excitement. This agitation is the result of the Rowlatt Act which was passed to violate the freedom of the people. . . Our hearts feel a thrill when we consider. . . . , the firing of guns on crowds, the crawling orders, the cruel acts to which the teachers and pupils were subjected, and the pressure exercised in the matter of getting recruits and collecting war loans. . . . Officers like General Campbell,Captain Doveton and Colonel Macrae who inflicted cruel punishments such as compelling people to salaam, whipping students, driving spikes in the anus, making the people ~~to salaam, whipping~~ rub their noses against the ground, and making them touch their ears with their toes, have been told "your acts have not been approved of by the higher authorities"! . . . . Mr.Sri Ram who, after Dyer, did horrible acts like Dyer himself, would, the Government said, be rewarded. Collector Sultan Ahmed who refused to give orders for firing upon the people in Guzarinwallah was forced to go on pension. . .

REFORMS.

. . . The Govennor has power to reject the decisions of the Legislative Councils and the Governor in Councils to defeat the Ministess . . . .

RULES

The rules have more serious defects. . . Forthe first four daxxx years, the President has to be nominated by the Governor. We are aware of the attempts made by the Governor of Madras i in contravention of law to be the President of the Council. . . If the Governor be the President he may be somewhat obliging (but now) from behind, he may be issuing orders to the President and sway the Council through him. . . The Government of Delhi have been spending half of their income on militia. Gokhale complained when a x quarter of it was so spent. This increase in the expenditure clearly reveals the neglect shown by the Government towards the people. . .

REPRESSIVE LAWS.

Whatever may be the reforms which the Government grant, they have been neglecting our vitals. In every country, people have certain primary rights,--the liberty of speech, the liberty of the Press, and the liberty to assemble. These three rights, instead of being left to be regulated by the Penal Code, have been restrained by x a series of Acts since 1907 to the present day. . . Under the Defence of India Act which has been in force since 1914, thousands have been restrained without reason or trial; some have lost their peace of mind and lives by madness and disease, in exile; and many, in prisons. Thinking that this Act would cease to be in force six months after the Peace treaty, the Rowlatt Act was passed in its place in 1918, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the representatives of the people. . .

MILITIA.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer who had for four years, weilded arbitrary rule in the Punjab and had been the Chief Agent of the Punjab atrocities, was not at all punished. At this instance

the Esher Committee sent up recommendations calculated to place all the army in India under the control of the English authorities, and to create occasions, in contravention of existing law, for employing them in all the wars fought by England, outside India. . .

COLONIES.

While such are the circumstances in our country, the Indians are treated as slaves in the colonies of the Empire such as the Fiji Islands and East Africa. . . When there was agitation among the workmen in the Fiji, massacres were perpetrated such as those of Amritsar. Unable to tolerate these hardships, leaders like Mr.Andrews consented to their being sent back to their country. Mr.Manilal writes. . . That, when Mr.Andrews was last in the Fiji islands he was threatened by the Governor with deportation, that the white men there told that they would shoot down Mr.Andrews. . .

NON-CO-OPERATION.

It was considering all these circumstances, that the Calcutta Congress adopted the 'Non-co-operation' resolution. . . When all the countries in the world are securing 'swaraj' it is not unfair that we now look forward for it. History discloses a two-fold means for its attainment--the use of the sword and that of DHARMABALA (righteous force).. We also learn from History that the former is useless. Even the people of England, which by brute-force has overcome the mighty Germany, are about to be reduced to a state of destitution on account of the strikes of the coal-miners, the Railway workmen and the harbour-workmen. In Germany a shirt costs a hundredrupees, and a coat and trousers Rs.1,500. The traditions of our country show that we have ever taken our stand on soul-force and moral-force discarding brute-force. The use of this soul-force and moral-force is 'non-co-operation'.

CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE.

The whole creation depends upon love and not on fear. A rule that is based upon fear is unrighteous rule. One that

is based upon love is a righteous rule. . . The rulers and the ruled ~~s~~ depend upon mutual help. The moment the ruled withhold their co-operation from the rulers, that moment, the rulers cannot discharge their duties. As is a farm-servant to the husbandman, as is the mill-hand to the mill, so are Government servants, munsifs, karnams, the police, the army, and the members of the Council necessary for a Government. When these withhold co-operation, the Government cannot discharge its duties.
As long as a Government enjoys the consent of the people, so long will it have their co-operation. In the absence of such a consent, it has only to be based upon their ignorance and a rule that is based upon ignorance is an unrighteous rule. Ignorance may be reduced to control by mere brute-force.
But ignorance is not lasting. In the existing British administration, there has been much awakening among the people, and Government should therefore rest upon the consent of the people, and not on ignorance. This country is ours. This land, this atmosphere, this sky, this starry firmament, these mountains, these rivers, and this vegetable and mineral world, are ours. We shall accord our consent only to that rule which secures us the fruits of these. It is only such a rule that is SWARAJ. People cannot yield their consent to the administrative system in a Government, in which there is scope for the people being burnt down like flies or musquitoes, a Government in which there is room for the people being restrained without a trial, a Government in which the liberty of the press, of speech, and of assembling is stamped out, a Government in which the rulers are not responsible to the ruled. People cannot value the titles and honours bestowed by such a Government. They cannot, by sitting in the Legislative Councils of such a Government, act as if they were consenting to their arbitrary acts. They cannot be clients who seek justice from the law courts established by such a Government. They do not like their children to receive instruction in schools established by such a Government, where perpetual slavery is taught them. They cannot spare their sons for taking part

in the wars carried on by them in foreign countries, prompted by a thirst for territory. They cannot support their industries, especially their cloth industries, only calculated always to increase their own prosperity.

The Black Hole of Calcutta and the Jallianwalla

64. The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 16th October, reproduces in Telugu from the MODERN REVIEW an article contributed to that journal in which the author institutes a comparison between the incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta and that of the Jallianwalla and remarks that if the former is a rude act of the then Native Government, the latter betrays the greater rudeness of the officers of the British Government.

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The beginning of a new era.

66. The BALABHARATI, of the 8th October, writes under this heading:--What is the duty of the Indians? Should they abide by the resolution of the Congress and do their utmost to gain self-government or be indifferent and mar the progress of the country? If we let slip the present opportunity, the Indians must always remain dependent. While on the termination of the war of the other countries got independence, our country got the Rowlatt Act as a reward for the help it rendered in the war. While the people in the other countries who helped England in the war are being honoured and respected, our Punjab brethren were subjected to the Martial Law., bombs murders and violation of honour. While thousands of innocent men have been subjected to punishments and have been separated from their wives and children and property, the perpetrators of the Punjab horrors have been protected by the Indemnity Act and are being paid from our treasury. General Dyer who sacrificed so many lives is paid a pension from our treasury. General Dyer who sacrificed so many lives is paid a pension from our money. The other responsible officers are still in their offices and are moving about in the sight of the people. His Excellency the Viceroy simply expressed his disapproval of the acts of these officers in the Punjab. He has

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~~xxxxx~~ been partial to Europeans in giving large sums to meet their loss while he gave very small sums to make good ~~the loss to foreign officers and merchants having cont~~ the loss sustained by the Indians. How long can the Indians endure their poverty due to foreign officers and merchants having control overthe Indian economic situation? No self-respecting Indian can accept the decennial test provided for by the Reforms Act. Which traitor to the country can still depend upon others' help trusting to the tender mercies of the authorities and abjectly accepting what alms they choose to give. India wants not good government but self-government. She means to get it by means of soul force and non-co-operation. They are the true sons of India, who can free her from servitude. Mr.Gandhi says that India, has to send a message to the west to the effect that the Indians have lost all faith in the justice of the westerners, that the latter want to rule the former by brute force, that the Indians have soul force which is greater than brute force, that they want to gain self-government under the suzerainty of the British, and that they have taken a vow to uplift the British too and thus make the British Empire last for ever in peace.

Boycott the Legislative Councils

68. ~~THE~~ IN its leader under this heading, the BALABHARATI, of the first week of October, observes that the Reform Act has not conceded to the people any real power in the system of administration, that the Legislative Councils will merely become agensts for levying additional taxation by legislation such as Education Act, and District Municipalities Act and are not useful for any other ~~x~~ purpose, that all profitable departments are reserved, while those that entail much expenditure are transferred without any finance being given for meeting it, and that, under these circumstances no self-respecting man should get into the Legislative Councils which will only be advisory, the paper finally exhorts the

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voters not to attend polling booths, especially those of the Ceded districts, stating that non-co-operation is more profitable than co-operation.

70. Under the head line 'Last week' the KANTHIRAVA, of the 16th November, writes:--

A punka coolie murder case

A European, Gunner Chapman by name recently murdered a punka-puller. The Magistrate of Agra tried him and, as usual, found the accused not guilty and acquitted him. These are many instances in which these foreigners have kicked and killed many an Indian, and in every instance the death has been naively ascribed to enlargement of the spleen. In the course of the proceedings it was found that the spleen of the deceased coolie was nine times its normal size and that it would have burst even if he had voluntarily jumped. The accused ought to have been convicted at least of grievous hurt, but it is not easy to punish Europeans. The European was no doubt found not guilty later on, but why did he abscond soon after the death of the coolie?

73. Referring to the prohibition of public meetings and the restriction of freedom of speech in the Punjab, the MANORAMA, of the 29th October, says:--Even those who are opposed to the extremists are not likely to approve of this step taken by the Government of India. No self-respecting Indian can extol the action of the Government, who have not meted out suitable punishment to the officers who were the root cause of the Punjab disturbances, in now trying to silence the aggrieved people by means of repressive measures, though it may be that their complaints are made in rather harsh tones. The action of the Government in the matter of the Punjab disorders has been condemned by both the extremists and the moderates alike and there is no doubt that the Punjab troubles are the cause of the present unrest and extremist agitation in India. The people are of opinion that similar events will occur if

Prohibition of public meetings, etc., in the Punjab

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the present bureaucratic character of the Government is maintained, and that to avoid this, suitable changes are necessary in the system of administration. The discontent with the Reform Rules is due to the fact that they confer autocratic power on the bureaucracy. We do not omit to say that extremism and atrocities are improper and reprehensible. But these will only increase with increased repression.

Non-co-operation and the Government.

76. The leading article in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 13th November, under the heading, 'non-co-operation and the Government' contains a scathing criticism of the speeches and efforts of Mr.Gandhi and his party which are calculated to create unrest in the country. Referring to Mr.Gandhi's speech at Belgaum to the effect that the wicked Government should either apologise for the injustice perpetuated in the Punjab and in respect of the Khilafat, or be destroyed altogether, and to Shaukat Ali's remark that if the Mahatma should be imprisoned he would not like to come out of jail until free Indians should go there to release him, the article observes that such speeches indicate that the alarm of some people with regard to the future of India is not altogether unfounded. But there is no proof yet that the movement is very considerable. The poisoning of young minds, however, is a matter needing immediate attention. The Government have adopted a quiescent attitude and they expect the people to withstand and destroy the movement. It is doubtful whether the people by themselves will be able to completely destroy the evil, and many people hesitate to act, not being certain of the views of the Government in the matter. Such situations would not have occurred had there been confidence between the Government and the people. It is hoped that confidence will be created when the Reforms are introduced but it is the duty of the Government and of the leaders of the people to see that the country should have peace and tranquillity till that time. . .

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78. In a leader on the marginally-noted subject the QAUMI REPORT, of the 11th November writes:--The Government of India have in their official communique of the 6th instant tried to give the people of India two draughts of ice water to drink. Perhaps self-interested persons may enjoy it and nation-sellers may become intoxicated thereby, but these cold drinks can produce no effect on nationalists. Government appeals for co-operation but does not show the advantage derived therefrom hitherto.

Two draughts of ice water

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(1) Has the land-tax been remitted?

(2) Has the house-tax been reduced?

(3) Have the railway and steamer fares been reduced?

(4) Has the expenditure on education in schools been cut down?

(5) Have labourers' wages been increased?

(6) Have the rice and grain been made cheap?

(7) Have the prices of meat, ghee and grain come down?

We do not know what advantage poor have derived from co-operation with the Government.

79. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 10th November, in a leader on the marginally-noted subject, writes:--The Government express selfish and despotic ideas on non-co-operation in the resolution issued on the 6th instant. It shows that the Government have, in addition to their own weapon, begun to sharpen another instrument, viz., mutual discord, mutual malice, and mutual opposition. It invites the moderates to work against nationalists, which could result in mutual quarrels and the continuance of Government rule. The nationalists should clearly understand the nature of this share and avoid being caught in it.

Government's new song. A fresh gait and a new style

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The Government resolution neither consoles the heart nor afford peace of mind. Government say that they are in favour of the freedom of writing and speech, but the Press Act is still in force, and a good number of papers are held in

their iron grip. Not a week passes without one or two presses being xxx confiscated, and papers, pamphlets, and decrees of the Ulima being declared forfeited. Speakers are sent to jail or into exile. The Government can gloss over these facts with their pen, and some of their most obedient servants will regard the action as right and proper. But as long as the eyes of the world are open, facts are facts, and cannot be denied.

If the Government repeal the Press Act, cancel the punishment of prisoners, abandon their confiscations, and give up their stubbornness and injustice, the power of non-co-operation would be decreased. The resolution has, on the contrary, enhanced the necessity for non-co-operation.

For the week ending 27th November 1920

No. 48 of 1920

ENGLISH PAPERS

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Non-co-operation

2. The SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, of the 15th November, has the following:--"As the party advocating non-co-operation stands at present, it is committed to two important things: It acts on the principle of non-violence and it supports the preservation of British connexion. Of course, the question 'within the Empire' or 'outside the Empire' has been put forward and the coming session of the Congress at Nagpur has got to decide that momentous point. But one thing is clear: if the Home Government sees its way to settle the two burning topics of the hour--the Punjab affair and the Khilafat--in a manner so as to assuage the roused feelings of the Indian people it is clear that the party advocating preservation of British connexion would be considerably strengthened and the contingency of getting the resolution 'outside the Empire' passed could be effectively avoided. . . There can be no doubt that it should be to the beneficent satisfaction of those who advocate the strengthening of the empire if the responsible statesmen are

benefited by the warning. Events are so rapidly marching that the question 'within the Empire' or 'outside of the Empire' has arisen--and Provindence only knows which turn it will take. But we firmly believe that it is in the power of the British statesmen to give it a safe and a constructive settlement and there is the suggestion of the moderates--at least two of them--to guide the Government. . . Till very recently no body decidedly thought of the separation from the British connexion and it could be definitely asserted that that question would seriously engage the attention of the public if the Nagpur session decides one way or the other. Till then the movement is limited to the prescription 'within the Empire' and the consideration whether it is 'disloyal' at this stage is naturally confined within these bounds. What the Government should contemplate is whether 'paralising the governing machinery' can be identified with the destruction of that machinery. The former object is undoubtedly intended to draw the attention of the authorities to the serious discontent of the people owing to the blind, perverse and reactionery actions of the bureaucracy and enable them to find out remedies for either the avoidance or the complete removal of the disabilities under which the people have been laid by the bureaucracy which persists in pursuing a precipitous course in utter disregard of the people's wishes. The latter object if adopted by the Indian people--which God forbid--would insuitably lead to bloody revolution. The two courses are quite different in nature, in methods, in the angle of vision chalked out and so long as a movement, however drastic it may be, is prescribed within the limits of the preservation of the British connextion we are within our rights when we aver that it is illogical and downrightedly shortsighted to dub it disloyal".

3. The HINDU, of the 23rd November, writes:--"A wiser Semite than Mr.Montagu has said: 'Answer a fool according to his folly', but we wonder if the Secretary of State realises that it is possible to stretch the advice to the verge of the ridiculous. To judge from his answers to questions in Parliament his cone concern is to avoid giving offence even to his bitterest critics; and if swallowing without protest the most blatant of lies could serve to turn away wrath he is not averse to the process. So far as India is concerned such performances only add to his not inconsiderable reputation for 'slimness'. Nevertheless it is a little painful to see one of His Majesty's Ministers exhibiting the backbone of a mollusc in defending the interests of this country in Parliament Mr.Montagu may possibly be of opinion that, having piloted his reforms through, his task is done and might feel bound in conscience to offer the opponents of reform something in the nature of an eyewash. While he is welcome to strive his best to keep in their good graces, we must protest when he does so at the expense of India. The other day he talked about the 'extremely dangerous situation in India'. The panickers were naturally exultant at such an admission and are calling, if the MORNING POST is a representative of the genus, for a whole regiment of Dyers to 'look beyond the immediate necessities' from the business-end of a machine-gun. As a matter of fact Mr.Montagu was probably perfectly well aware that the situation while one of strain that cannot long continue without becoming intolerable, is by no means 'extremely dangerous'. At any rate the Government of India do dnot think so and they presumably advised Mr.Montagu to that effect. . . Such instances of his invertebracy can be indefinitely multiplied. In fact he never opens his mouth to reply to the critic but forthwith proceeds to give his famous impersonation of a detected pick-pocket pretending somnambulism to explain the presence of his hand in his neighbour's pocket. Elsewhere we publish an extract

Mr.Montagu

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from Hansard of questions and answers in the Commons wherein Colonel Yate talks airily of the 'rebellion of 1919'. Mr.Montagu did not think it his duty to protests against this monstrous misstatement though he could have quoted the verdict of the Hunter Committee against it. Such a protest would have been a severe blow to the panic-mongers and we consider that his tacit aceeptance of the description has considerably prejudiced India's cause in Britain. His lapse is the more reprehensible; because he had another opportunity to protest when Colonel yate talked of 'convicted rebels' and in the plenitude of his meekness accepted the description. These are, may be, small matters to make a fuss about. Nevertheless the fact remains that India would be better served by a gentleman with a little less of the Semitic suppleness that appears to be Mr.Montagu's outstanding characteristic."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in Ceylon

4. Referring again to the 'devices' contemplated by the planters of Ceylon to retain the Indian labourers there and pointing to the news furnished by the TIMES OF CEYLON that the Government of Ceylon have promised all possible assistance to the planters, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th November observes:--It is not only in India but everywhere the Government are showing undue partiality to European capitalits. So there is nothing strange about the Government lending support to those, who are exploiting the economic resources of the Colonies. The Government of Ceylon have now decided to take steps to prevent the return of the Indian labourers to India. Though the removal of the restrictions on the export of rice may in a way be favourable to the mirasidars of Tanjore, we cannot but strongly condemn the action of the Government in secretly supporting the planters in extracting work from the Indian labourers in Ceylon.

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5. Referring to a recent decision of the Cape Town Supreme Court setting aside the sale to an Indian of a piece of land which originally belonged to the Dutch Church, as reported in the TIMES OF INDIA, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th November, writes:--As a result of colour distinction being observed to a large extent in South Africa, the condition of the Indians there is becoming more and more miserable. Even in cases relating to proprietary rights decisions are given against the Indians. Nothing but racial hatred and the black colour of the Indians contributes to such a condition. Perhaps the Indians have to console themselves only with the remark of the Judge in the present case that not only Indians but all races other than the whites will get similar justice.

Indians in South Africa

Col

Adverting to the reply said to have been given by an officer in South Africa recently to the members of the Coal Miners' Association in Natal, that the miners should, without depending on the Indians, make arrangements to train local men and carry on their work and that the officers concerned have been instructed to send away Indians working in plantations and coal mines only in batches, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th November, observes:--It is not known at what stage the work in connexion with the ousting of Indians from South Africa is at present. But it seems to be the opinion of the authorities there that they should be sent away gradually and in batches. If the Indians are to be ousted to satisfy the natives, time will also come for the latter to oust the whites. We have not forgotten the fact that the Negroes recently held a conference and hoisted the flag of liberty.

10. While reviewing the speech of Mr.C.F.Andrews, addressed to the Bihar Students' Conference as President, the HITAKARINI, of the 1st November, (received on the 11th) observes:-- . . . The complaints of the Indians in East Africa have become a cry in the wilderness. Efforts are being made to gather them

Indians in East Africa and other Colonies.

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together in one place and deprive them of all rights. The Indians in the Fiji Islands are about to come back. . . All the same, our Government intend sending Indians to British Guiana. So long as Indians are servants, they are acceptable. The moment they assert equality, they deserve to be boycotted. Under these circumstances it is good that our countrymen do not go to the Colonies until India becomes a self-governing country.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) General.

Colour difference.

22. In a note under this heading, the TAMIL NADU, of the 7th November, also refers to an appointment, in connexion with the preparation of electoral rolls in Bombay, having been given first to a European on a high salary of Rs. 2,000 and subsequently to an Indian but on a lower salary of Rs.300 and observes:--It is only the bureaucrats that make such distinctions but not the people. There are innumerable instances for the Indians getting less than 10 per cent of the salaries paid to Europeans for doing the same work. Why this distinction? When will this cease? It is only after the introduction of SWARAJ.

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The punishment ofthe editor of the ZAMINDAR

24. Referring to the conviction of the editor of the ZAMINDAR for sedition, the TAMILNADU, of the 14th November, says:--There is no spirit of hostility at all in his speech. He has spoken more violently before this and many do so even now. All that is not treated as sedition; but the ordinary words used by this editor have been deemed to be such. The secret of it is that, if the Government are pleased to do so, they can decide any matter to be seditious and punish people easily for that.

Press

26. A correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th

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November, characterises the view of the SWADESAMITRAN

The British Labour Party and India

India will surely ob[...] if the Labour Party i[...] comes to power, as the empty words of those who are not prepared for real sacrifice and observes:--Even taking for granted that the Labour Party comes to power and grants libert[...] we cannot but take an interest then in developing our industries and trade. Can we even after acquiring liberty allow English merchants to compete with ours and crush our trade? We would naturally levy a heavy import duty on foreign articles and this would deprive England especially of a most favourable market for her goods. If thus English articles are prevented from being sold here for a high price, it may lead to numerous factories in England being closed, throwing thousands of operatives out of work, and the question is whether the Lbour representatives in the Cabinet will grant liberty to India and face such a result quietly. If they do it, they will immediately lose their seats on the Cabinet. So, liberty can never be secured to India with the aid of the British Labour Party.

27. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th November, writes under this heading:--Newspapers do not command the same respect from the Government in India as they do in other countries. Lord Chelmsford too has once openly admitted that he does not generally pay any heed to the remarks of newspapers, But the Anglo-Indian papers alone have a special influence in India, though any remark of the nationalist press causes great provocation. Though Lord Chelmsford declared that he did not care for newspapers, he had once to reply to the LONDON TIMES. While even the Ministers in England are afraid of this paper, where is the wonder in Lord Chelmsford being afraid of it? It is learnt from Reuter's agency that, as a result of the strong representation of the TIMES and other papers urging the immediate withdrawal of troops from Mesopotamia

The victory of newspapers

Press

and the curtailment of the unnecessary expenditure in this behalf, the British Government have resolved to reduce, to a large extent, the Mesopotamian forces. Though the troops in Mesopotamia are not withdrawn by the British Government in compliance with the request of the Indians, it is surely a fact to be noted that they have begun to do it out of fear of the agitation of the newspapers.

28. Mother Bharata, who has now grown so emaciated as not to feed even her own children, is only anxious to know when she can expect Englishmen to evince their gratitude. Immense is the benefit the Englishmen have derived from India. The latter has been maintaining numerous sons of England in princely comfort. But for Indian cotton and wheat can Englishmen live for a day? Mother India does not claim today a return for all this. But she is only anxious that little England may not stand the burden of obligation to her which is increasing day by day. India, which has done so much, wants only one favour of Englishmen, and that is that they should not continue to afflict her children and treat them as slaves. Colonel Wedgwood warns us that, if we have SWARAJ immediately, we cannot defend our country. But how to raise an Indian army without our having SWARAJ? Further, does he believe that India, which defeated Germany and gained a victory for England, which secured for England, Mesopotamia and other places and which conquered South and East Africa and handed them over to Englishmen, is incapable of defending herself even now? Instead of this, he could well have asked how, if the Indians should obtain SWARAJ, England can manage her Empire how she can take oil from Mesopotamia, how Manchester and Lancashire can have a living, who will give men and money for future wars and who would labour in South Africa, East Africa Fiji and other places, receiving only half rations and pocketing kicks and insults to boot. The Colonel wants us to accept his countrymen as our brethren. But they enter under the cloak of brethren and try to become masters. It is this that

India detests. Brotherhood and love are ingrained in the Indian and so our prayer to the Englishmen is that they should treat us like brethren and not as x slaves.
(The DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th November).

The non-co-operation movement

29. Characterising the communique of the Government of India on this movement as a useless one, the TAMIL NADU, of the 14th November, observes:--The Government do not seem to give up their x usual habits, however dangerous the situation may be. To-day country is passing through an unprecedented crisis. Non-co-operation is spreading through it like wild fire. All people, irrespective of position, have lost their faith in the British justice. Knowing all this, the Government have, instead of seeking a proper remedy for it, issued an empty communique as usual. Lord Chelmsford thinks that, if he does not mention in the communique the causes of the storm that has appeared in India, the people will also forget them. We would remind him and his race that, even if the whole of India should be submerged under a deluge leaving only one Indian alive, he will always be shedding tears at the thought of the Punjab injustice. An Indian who forgets the Punjab ~~Government~~ cannot live. It is, however, the good fortune of the British Government that the Government of India x recognise that the condition of the country will become very critical, if Gandhi and other leaders are touched. We know very well, and we wish the Government also to note, that no Indian taking part in the non-co-operation movement will create a disturbance. Apart from this no one will be surprised at the Government having condemned the non-co-operation movement and its leaders. Not even a mad Indian can expect them to support it. But it is a folly on their part to confide still in the mud horse of the moderates and pat them on their backs. The moderates have no influence and ~~and~~ no following in the country and how can they crush a principle, which is deemed to be almost divine by the people? If they try to block the

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motion of the wheel of the non-co-operation movement, they will have to fly like mosquitoes. We know their secret. Their only support is the bureaucracy. We would tell the Government at once that mere communiques of threat are no longer of any use. They should understand the real situation and seek a proper remedy. The Punjab wretches should be tried and punished, the wounded feelings of the Muslims appeased and Lord Chelmsford removed from office for having conducted the administration unjustly. Unless these things are done and those who suffered by the exercise of Martial Law are compensated, the movement cannot be blocked or destroyed. As for the people, we would tell them that, if the Government are to be taught a lesson and the prestige and welfare of the country are to be secured, they should act on the advice of Mr.Gandhi and avoid all force.

The non-co-operation movement

A correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th November, contributes a long article condemning in strong words the communique of the Government of India regarding this movement and remarks by the way that every Government should be based only righteousness, if it is to be stable, that the stability of the British Government cannot be secured until the Punjab and the Khilafat injustice is wiped out and that the non-co-operation movement aims only at removing this defect in the foundation of the British kingdom and placing it on a righteous basis again.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th November, refers in its leader to students in this Presidency also beginning to adopt the principle of the boycott of schools as a part of this movement and, advising the students of the boycott of schools as a part of this movement and, advising the students who come out of schools to take to manual labour and thereby improve the industrial prospects of India, remarks that, if intelligent youngmen make a really bold attempt, they are sure to make a larger income than what they are able to do as clerks or teachers as a result of their education in the English schools.

The BALABHARATI, of the 15th October, writing in furtherance of the non-co-operation movement of Mr.Gandhi, says as follows:--

Non-co-operation

Mr.Gandhi is bringing home to the minds of the people the injustice done to the Muhammadans in the case of the Khilafat, the unrighteous character of the Punjab murders, and the violation of the pledges of the British in the matter of the Reforms Act is awakening their spirit and is preparing them for the new age of righteousness. He asks the people to reject their titles. Like a piece of meat given to a pouncing dog in order to subjugate it, these titles are a design adopted by the Government to muzzle the agitators and hold them in subjection. He also advises us to give up obstacle to righteous living. He wants us also to boycott the law courts, which contribute to the country's poverty, and are also a source of evil. He appeals to the students to boycott educational institutions since bythe present system of education the student population have lost their self-respect, self-confidence moral force, and fear of sin. His exhortation to the people not to join as officers in the clerical establishment of military service in Mesopotamia, is not without meaning. The whole world including that country clamours for freedom and it is therefore unjust on the part of men actuated by one and the same ideal of freedom to help in violating the freedom of one another. He appeals to the people to boycott the councils since the Reforms Act does not contain any provision for carrying on the Government in accordance with the wishes of the people. As for SWADESHI, we do not suppose there is anybody who is blind to its advantages. The paper concludes the article with a strong appeal to the people to take the vow of non-co-operation, which will form an effective weapon in the hands of the subject races.

The same paper appeals to the voters not to vote at the ensuing elections to the councils.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 5th November, has the following

Non-co-operation

--Paid propagandists who will preach the boycotting of councils are wanted. They have to reside in the place where they work. They have to report themselves x at the Khilafat office before the 7th of this month. These propagandists should work in Madras only.

The HITAKARINI, of the 8th November, refers to the warning

Non-co-operation

of Colonel Wedgwood that if the Indians dispute with one another about the adoption of non-co-operation, the British labourers will not help them, and says that just as, with reference to 'the cruelties perpetrated by his countrymen in India", Colonel Wedgwood stated that the Indians should not deem the British nation to be such men, so also he should not from the quarrelsome attitude of the so-called leaders, infer that the Indians are not unanimous.

The HITAKARINI, of the 8th November, accepts the principle

Non-co-operation

underlying non-co-operation but is opposed to its application in regard to schools and taxes. It says that these two should form the last steps in the system.

The HITAKARINI, of the 8th November, considers the reforms

Non-co-operation

with reference to the Indian Legislative Assembly and the State Council and says:--The proposed Councils are no better than the former ones and it is plain that the arbitrary authority of the Viceroy has been doubled. If the Viceroy is good as before, the people will be contented. If, on the other hand, he yields to his subordinate officers who are proud of their authority, and acts unwisely and with fear, the people will have to suffer. Practically the people have not been given any control over the purse. Arbitrary authority over the Indian Legislative ~~Cou~~ Assembly and the State Council has been vested in the Viceroy. Can the Indian representatives

in the Legislative Assembly modify the Arms Act? When the rules, the constitution and the procedure allow no room for the people to accomplish their aims, it is a dream to suppose that the people's representatives will do anything tending to the welfare of the country. We know from the Morley-Minto reforms that the rulers will not carry on the Government suitably to the wishes of the people. So we should boycott the Indian Legislative Councils. Let us not give room to the Government to say that they did anything with the consent of the people, by joining the Councils.

Non-co-operation

A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st November, referring to the progress of the movement of non-co-operation at Ellore (Kistna district), and its neighbourhood observes that there are only two questions to be answered, viz., whether sword may be drawn and war waged or whether they (the rulers) may be won over by soul-force. As there is no sword to draw and no strength to stand and fight what is left is soul-force alone.

Non-co-operation

Referring to the affairs of Aligarh College and the attempts that are being made by the College authorities to put a stop to the non-co-operation movement among the students, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 20th November, remarks:--Some are of opinion that in the chaos now reigning supreme in the college, the poor students would be deprived of their education and left in the lurch. This opinion is not right. Non-co-operation also is a kind of education and those who pass through this course would be patriots in the real sense of the word.

Preservation of industries.

33. Observing that, on account of the termination of war and the consequent re-establishment of trade relations between Germany and other countries, England seriously apprehends that the dyeing industry started by her during the great war will perish, as she cannot compete with Germany in the matter of dye-

Genl

stuffs, and that merchants dealing in dye-stuffs in England are urging on prompt legislation being undertaken to preserve this industry, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th November, writes:-- It is no doubt proper for Englishmen to wish for such legisla tion being made. But it would be well if they are also mindful of the interests of other people as they are of their own. Generally, if indigenous industries in India should prosper English articles should not flood the markets here. We therefore desire very much that some rules should be framed to prevent our industries being ruined by the import of English goods. Will the Englishmen, who were originally responsible for the ruin of weaving and other indigenous industries of this country by means of enactments both in India and England, yield to our wishes? Will their representatives, the Government of India, dare do so? It is only for this we demand complete Home Rule. If the wishes of the Indians should be carried out in India as those of the Englishmen are in England, if our industries, trade, education and arts should flourish, we should get Home Rule.

The policy of the Government.

35. Remarking that while the tongue of the Government utters one thing, its limbs, the officials, are doing quite another, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th November, refers to the eagerness of the subordinate officials to indulge in repression as usual, in the face of the statement of the Government that they do not intend to resort to it in ordinary circumstances and, pointing to the authorities in Amritsar having prohibited the holding of the Home Rule Conference there and the presentation of ~~prohibited~~ an address to Colonel Wedgwood, observes:--What is the significance of the authorities adopting repressive measures, when the Government of India have in effect stated that they do not intend to touch Mr.Gandhi? Many will view the statement of the Government to be based only on their own interests and how can they come to a different conclusion especially when

the authorities are actively trying to suppress his diciples? Colonel Wedgwood is no ordinary man. He is a bold Englishman and a leader in Parliament. Conferences have been held in a Bombay and other places in his presence and he has declared that he has not come across more peaceful people than the Indians. Our bureaucracy have no confidence even in this gentleman. Leaving alone the Home Rule Conference, have not Khilafat ~~Confere~~ Conferences and Conferences of Ulemas been held, which are likely, in the view of the authorities, to create much greater excitement? Have they led to serious disturbances as is usual in western countries? How can the Indians then believe that the Home Rule Conference alone will lead to any serious harm? Let us see again whether the presentation of an address to Colonel Wedgwood would sitturb public peace. How could it do so? Is there any room for a repture between co-operators and non-co-operators? ~~Is there any room for a~~ No; forthe Indians are unanimous in their opinion of the atrocities committed in the Jallianwalla Bagh. And again when the Hindus and the Muhammadans are at one regarding the Punjab incidents and the Khilafat, no one will venture to say that they will have a quarrel. Further, the Colonel himself has often urged that the Indians should believe the British and stated that he has not much faith in non-co-operation. So it is for our readers to judge whether the holding of the Conference and the presentation of the address would disturb public peace. But the assembling of the Indians in the Jallianwalla Bagh might perhaps provoke the Europeans and create disturbance of the public peace. If this was the fear of the authorities, they should have warned the European community. To prevent a meeting of the Indians, afraid of the excitement it may cause to Europeans, can be deemed to be legitimate only by the ~~excitement it may~~ bureaucracy and not by British justice. It is clear the statesmen who have taken up the responsibility for the present politics have not realized the effect, upon the attitude of the Indians, of the existing divergence between the profession of heads of administrations and the

conduct of subordinate officials. Will Lord Chelmsford, Sir EdwardMaclagan and others realize well, now at least, that the present policy will only strengthen the feeling of the Indians that the words of the officials preaching peace are only m empty ones and that their ideal of SWARAJ cannot be attained under this administration and in the time of these officials.

The Dyer Fund.

36. Adverting to the news that the Dyer Fund has aggregated to about £21,116 and remarking that the European associations in India have contributed to it as much as possible and that they are still praising his heroism, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th November, observes:--Lord Chelmsford is often asking the Indians to be peaceful and to forget the past. But has he not the courage to similarly advise the Europeans who arepraising Dyer? These Europeans are doing just the thing which Lord Chelmsford wants to avoid. But he has never come forward to curb them, It is not known whether Lord Chelmsford is aware of the fact that the evil agitation of the Anglo-Indians is one of the causes that have led to the starting of the non-co-operation movement in India.

Europeans and Indians

37. Quoting a few instances in which Europeans are said to have maltreated and killed Indians and escaped all punishment, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th November, says:--It has become very common for some Europeans, actuated by the arrogance of their belonging to the ruling race, to act highhandedly and try to escape the penalty of law. 'Natives' are treated very contemptuously everywhere. How is it possible for the people of the world to refrain from ridiculing the British for adopting such barbarous methods in their dependencies? We x would, therefore, deem it our duty to take such steps now as will make the British grant SWARAJ to India at least in fear of the world. We cannot at all expect Lord Chelmsford to boldly give the advice that Lord Lytton once did to the Englishmen and the High Courts in India.

38. In the course of ~~k~~ a long leader, the NAVASAKTI, of the 19th November, discusses the question whether Indian students should take part in the present movement for the acquisition of liberty or not and, quoting extracts from a lecture delivered by Professor Vasvani on this subject, in which he is reported to have stated that it is the students that should lay the foundation for the liberty of the country remarks:--Some wise men ~~tki~~ think that, by getting out of the existing schools, the culture of the students will be spoiled; but the Professor points out that these ~~national-spirit~~ schools are really prisons and never impart an education which will instil a national spirit in the students. Instead of having an education which spoils one's faith in his religion and one's patriotism and character, one had better not have it at all. That is why Mr.Gandhi wants the students to boycott the present schools. If only the students act on the suggestion of Mr.Gandhi, several national schools are bound to appear in the land. This small sacrifice on the part of the students will practically lay the foundation for the liberty of the country. The liberty of India ~~practically lay the foundation~~ is in the hands of her students and, by their efforts, she can gain it within a year.

Students and politics.

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39. Tracing the history of the labour movement in this Presidency and referring to the obstacles thrown by the capitalists, with the aid of the Government as the paper puts it, to undermine the labour unions here, the NAVASAKTI of the 19th November, remarks:--The labourers in India are now facing the same crisis as those of England did in 1820. But it is for the Government to note that times have changed. We need not dilate here upon the strength of the labour movement. What is Lord Willingdon doing now, who volunteered to settle matters in the case of past strikes and lock-outs of labourers? What is the Labour Commissioner or the Labour

The condition of ~~l~~labourers.

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Advisory Board doing? Indian labourers! Do not be afraid. Be prepared to starve and die on account of it! Preserve your honour! Your starvation and affliction will not go in vain! No one can suppress your movement. It is going to be invested with a divine force suddenly and that force will help to uplift you.

The same paper refers elsewhere to the opinion expressed by Mr.Baptista on the result of his deputation to the Governor of Bombay on behalf of the postmen there and, remarking that Mr.Baptista, who once regarded Mr.Gandhi as a mad man, is himself resorting to non-co-operation now, adds:--The crisis that is now facing the labourers in Bombay and Madras is sure to lead to some good to the labour world. Many of our brethren may consider the boycott of the Post Office to be mad game; but it will not appear so to those in the position of Mr.Baptista. It is not acts done in the exuberance of patriotism but only rude ones that are detestable. Non-co-operation is sure to develop in one form or other.

Mr.Gandhi and other leaders

42. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th November, publishes a cartoon in which John Bull, the teacher, appreciates the action of his students, Mr.Surendranath Bannerji, Mrs.Besant, Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, Mr.Tyagaraya Chettiyar and Mr.Srinivasa Sastri, who begin their lesson with the words "I bow before the bureaucracy" and wants them to note how (badly) the other student, Mr.Gandhi, is going to fare, as he begins his lesson by saying "I bow before the Goddess of SWARAJ".

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Invoking law.

45. The JOGAPATI, of the 29th October, says under this heading:--In the Punjab, the very land in which the holy blood of men and women, young and old, has flown in torrents, as if to help India in attaining SWARAJ at an early date, the Government are furbishing their weapons, the laws of repression on the eve of the new era of reforms. The rulers

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do not endeavour to find out the real cause of the unrest and discontent in the country and remedy it. Their present policy is not statesmanlike. The enforcement of repressive laws which violate the birthrights of men is like administering medicine without diagnosing the disease.

48. In its leader under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 1st November, (received on the 11th), observes:--. . .

Non-co-operation: boycott of councils

The Allies were proclaiming the principle of self-determination being desirous of the help of America in the war. They professed to give a satisfactory form of Government to Ireland. . . . At the same time the drama was enacted of the visit of Mr.Montagu to India, etc. The whole country demanded the Congress League reforms. . . India, once the mother of heroes, has now given birth to those who accept what is given 'wagging their tails' . . . An examination of the reforms shows that they not only not do any good to the country but also do evil to it and have therefore to be boycotted. . . The State council has been provided to enable the Government to pass any Act which they intend passing, though the Legislative Council opposes it.

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50. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th November, says under this heading:--The word SWARAJ admits of a wide interpretation.

The Congress creed

It may mean SWARAJ within the Empire or SWARAJ outside it. To have such an aim cannot be disloyalty. The British Government have now granted SWARAJ outside the Empire to Egypt. Ireland wants complete SWARAJ. . The nationalists of South Africa cherish the same desire. . . The coloured races are an eyesore to the whitemen. Under such circumstances it is doubtful how far India will be benefited by the grant of SWARAJ within the Empire. It is therefore advantageous to follow an ideal SWARAJ which is not an obstacle to future progress. . . Though in all civilized countries it is admitted that non-violent non-co-operation is one of the constitutional methods, the Government say it is not. These words of doubtful meaning

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have been replaced by the words just and peaceful methods. We trust that the Nagpur Congress will accept these words accepted by the Andhra and Madras Congress committees.

Moderates.

52. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th November, says that the Government have thrown on the moderates the responsibility of defeating the non-co-operation movement. There is no room to suppose that the moderates approve of the acts of the authorities in the Punjab or think lightly of the harm done to the religious feelings of the Muhammadans. It has become plain that this throwing of the responsibility of suppressing the non-co-operation movement on the moderates, instead of finding the real cause of the movement, is of no use. If the Government now at least respect the unanimous opinion of the people and grant their wishes, the present situation will improve. The moderates and the nationalists suggest to the Government one and the same course of duty to follow.

Parties

Friendly relation between the Indians and the British

53. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th November, refers to the reply of certain European gentlemen in Bangalore to the appeal of Mr.Gandhi to the English people to do justice to the Indians, and says:--The European gentlemen have accepted some of his suggestions and say that they will do their best to bring about friendly relation between the Indians and the British. If the Government also are inspired by the same feelings, friendly relations will be established between them and the people.

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Certain admissions

55. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 22nd November, says under this heading:--In the Administration Report of the Government of India, we find some admissions of the Government. From a perusal of them it will be plain that the requests of the people had been reasonable and that if the Government had granted them, the present crisis would have been averted. . . .

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The report of the Esher Committee has made the crisis still worse. The Government say that they never supposed that the Rowlatt Act would prove so disastrous. It may seem strange that those who have silently put up with any number of repressive measures, have strongly disapproved of the Rowlatt Law. When in the Legislative Council, the moderates and extremists opposed the passing of the Rowlatt Bill why did not the Government hesitate? The Government have not failed to understand that the present critical situation is solely due to the passing of the Rowlatt Bill. They also knew that the withdrawal of the Bills would remove the unrest in the country. But the Government say that they passed the Bill, fearing that if they did not do so, they would be failing in their responsibility. It will be more proper to say that they did so to maintain their prestige. If to disregard the unanimous opinion of the people and pass law which obstructs their birthrights is the discharging of responsibility, then words have no meaning. If the Rowlatt Bill had not been passed, there would not have been the Punjab disorders. From the report, it will be seen how shortsighted an act was done to maintain prestige. Mr.Gandhi started his SATYAGRAHA movement in order to get the Rowlatt Act repealed. Union was established between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. If the Government understood the force of public opinion and satisfied the people, the present crisis would have been averted. The non-co-operation movement has been resorted to in order to liberate the country from the present miserable condition. The Government does not express any regret anywhere in the report. Mr.Gandhi says that the new Government must continue until such regret is expressed. In the Government publications themselves, we find the Government admitting that they are the cause of the present situation. If they at once rectify their defects, peace and happiness will prevail in the country.

56. The HITAKARINI, of the 8th November says:--When the extremists first joined the Congress after the Surat split, the Indians were of opinion that the British connexion with India should be maintained. But, in course of time, on account of the blindness brought on by victory, and the policy of the rulers characterised by untruth, the Indians demanded self-government within the Empire. But the relations having become still more strained, the Indians have resolved that complete self-government is the only refuge. . . Under the principle of self-determination, it is bad on the part of any nation to determine the destiny of another nation. If in time the rulers understand the force of the public opinion and grant the people self-government, the Indians will not sever their connexion with the British Empire, which has been the cause of the advancement of India. Indians have not become so very ungrateful. Responsibility lies with the British.

Self-government.

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57. Referring to the statement of the Government that they have adopted a conciliatory policy and have not enforced repressive measure even in the present crisis, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th November, writes:--As a matter of fact, people are punished for expressing their opinions. The Seditions meetings Act has been put into force in the Punjab. The people are following just and peaceful methods to publish their aims. It can easily be seen that it is harmful to repress them. Colonel Wedgwood says that the Indians should forget the past and think about their future progress. He does not seem to understand the unbearable humilitation caused to India. Many who have been imprisoned under the Martial Law, have not been liberated according to the proclamation of the Emperor. The District Magistrate of Amritsar prohibited a meeting at which it was intended to present an address to Colonel Wedgwood. It is very absurd to suppose that the presentation of an address to Colonel Wedgwood, a member of the

Direct evidence.

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Parliament, would stir up the people and disturb peace. When repressive measures like this are enforced at a time when Mr.Wedgwood is in the Punjab, it can be supposed how the circumstances will be at other times. In the eyes of the authorities, those who sympathise with the aims of the Indians are blameworthy. Home Rule meetings are a bugbear. Where is the room ~~x~~ here for co-operation? ~~Rule-meetings-are-a-bu--Xcolonel~~ Colonel Wedgwood should know that the people adopted non-co-operation to save their self-respect. Will he urge the British to put an end to the misdeeds done in India in their name? Repression will only add strength to the new movement. Whatever policy the authorities may adopt, the people should persist in doing their duty without stepping out of the path of dharma (righteousness). SWARAJ is bound to come to them. Mr.Gandhi lays down the NAVAJEEVAN the duty of the people in case he is arrested. The good conduct of the people even under adverse circumstances will surprise the world and pave the way for a new age.

<u>For the week ending 4th December 1920</u>

<u>No. 49 of 1920</u>

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The way to Home Rule

2. In an article under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd November, details the sufferings of three Sinn Feigners at the hands of the Police and says:--Incidents far more horrible than the Punjab massacre are occurring in Ireland. The Police there are pleasantly carrying on a campaign of vengeance. Curious indeed is the manners in which the British Government are allaying the thirst of the Sinn Feigners for liberty. The same fate may be shared by any country that fights for Home Rule from within the British Empire. But, unless we have the strength to put up with such severities, our goal will be difficult to attain. It is not known whether the acts of the British Government in Ireland have the sanction of the

League of Nations.

3. Detailing the circumstances in Ceylon which necessitate

Tamilian coolies in Ceylon

the return of ~~th~~ one and a half lakhs of Tamilian coolies from there to South India, in consequence of that Government having declined to find employment for them until they are re-employed by the planters, who are now compelled to dispense with their services owing to the low demand for tea and its fall in price, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th November, observes:- It behoves both the Government of Ceylon and the Government of India to see that these coolies are afforded, as far as possible, facilities for their safe return to their homes. It is seen that the Government of Ceylon are prepared to do their duty. It is not known what the Government of Madras propose to do in the matter of the safe return of one and a half lakhs of their subjects and their future. The Publicity Board, which has been established for explaining the acts and intentions of the Government, ~~which~~ has taken to political propaganda work and is publishing pamphlets against the non-co-operation movement. Will this Board say what the Government intend to do in the matter of the coolies who are to be sent back from Ceylon?

9. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of 11th November, publishes in

Bolshevick ambitions

Telugu a telegram in which Mr.Lenin is reported to have said that a determined attack would be made on France and Britain by an extensive propaganda in North Africa and India, and that he would bring the whole world to his feet.

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II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

14. The RYOTPATRIKA, of the 7th November, refers to a

Unequal justice

case in which the Howrah Deputy Magistrate convicted an Indian of rioting and assaulting a European and sentenced

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him to six months' rigorous imprisbnment, and remarks:--Perhaps it is because the complainant is a white man that the accused was sentenced to xi six months. This need not surprise the Indians, because in India it has become a matter of course that when an Indian assaults a European he is punished with rigorous imprisonment, while a European causing the death of an Indian by a kick with his boot is let off with a fine of Rs.50.

(k) General.

18. In the course of an article on this subject, the TAMIL NADU, of the 14th November refers to the boycott of schools aided by Government and reiterating the view that the education imparted in these schools is not a genuine one and inculcates no political, religious or industrial knowledge and pointing to the efforts of the people to get the present system of education altered have proved in vain, remarks:--The only solution for this evil is the establishment of national schools. The MODERN REVIEW and the LEADER are of opinion that we have not the capacity to establish a sufficient number of such schools The Government are now contributing only about a tenth or an eigth of the x expenses incurred on education and even that is out own money. But innumerable are the restrictions imposed by them on account of their making this grant. We should at once extricate ourselves from a system in which we are treated as slaves by the Government on account fxxm of their contributing tenth of the expenses and that too, out of the money collected from ourselves in the shape of taxes. Even granting that we are not able to do a thing, it is of no avail to be pleading this excuse without trying to acquire the required capacity.

Non-co-operation

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The TAMIL NADU, of the 21st November, publishes a strong appeal to the people to abstain from voting altogether on the election day and referring to this day again in its leader as a most miserable day for this Presidency, observes:--You should show your patriotism only on this day and make it

clear that the honour of the country is your own. You should make the Government understand the power of the people, by refraining from voting. Sixty lakhs of persons are stated to have been given under the reforms. Why should we be given this ~~fraxki~~ franchise, after being insulted? Is it to allure us? Remove their delusion by the very franchise by the grant of which they thought of alluring you. Let the Government of India realise our strength at least now. Why have they granted you the franchise? It is only with the idea that you have no sense of honour and that you can be taken in. It is by refraining to vote on the date of the election that you should dispel that idea. If only all the 60 lakhs of voters decline to exercise their franchise, it is the grandest victory for us and we will have Home Rule the very next moment. If you acquire a power by refraining to vote, the Government realise that there is no use in repression and give it up. After that the only thing they can do is to grant you Home Rule and withdraw. Exercise your vote, if you want the MAHATMA to be imprisoned, if you want atrocities to occur which will ~~lad~~ lead to the leaders being incarcerated, if you wish to continue as a slavish people, if you like that the honour of mother Bharata should be trodden to the earth and if you desire to be classed as traitors to the country.

Non-co-operation

Remarking that the country may be benefited greatly by the non-co-operation movement, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 3rd October, says that, though evil results may ensue on account of the foolishness of those conducting it and the mischief of the officials, this can be surely avoided if Mr.Gandhi's instructions are followed strictly and adds:--To secure the advancement of the country and the people, many should be prepared for sacrifice. Several candidates have come forward for the Legislative Council. Though these cannot be prevented from doing so, it is necessary that voters should be prevailed upon not to exercise their franchise. The question may be asked

as to whether this will effectively block the election. Let those who wish to enter the Council do so. But what is there to prevent us from refusing to regard as popular representatives those who are elected only by a small number of voters exercising their right or are declared elected, there being no competitors? How can the laws framed and taxes imposed by persons for whom the majority of the voters do not vote, bind the people?

Continuing its comments on the subject, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 10th October, demurs to the view expressed by Lord Willingdon that this movement is unconstitutional and, observing that nothing done for the benefit of the country can be unconstitutional, for the Government and the officials exist only for the benefit of the country, writes:--The British Government, who are alleged to exist only for doing away with injustice and establishing justice, have not heeded the complaint that they have been shifting their ground quite uncharitably from the very beginning in the matter of the Khilafat, nor have they corrected themselves. They have not given effect to their profession oftentimes that they have come here only to grant complete liberty to the Indians. If big governments are to behave like this, there will be no room for justice or liberty in the world. It will case a slur upon the British rule itself, and, as we will also be affected by it, we wish to resort to non-co-operation. It should be noted that this movement has been started not to injure the King or the officials but only in their own interest.

Characterising the 30th November 1920 as a day for demonstrating the grief of mother India, a day for remembering the brethren that died in the Punjab last year, a day for the Mussalmans to grieve over the condition of their Khalifa and a day for the Indians and especially those of this presidency to show their firmness of mind and tranquillity, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th November, makes a fervent appeal to the voters not to exercise their franchise on the day and observes:--A reflection about the cruel incidents of the Punjab last year will clearly show how the Indians are considered

by the Europeans. Every one knows how deeply the Mussalmans are immersed in grief on account of the Khilafat question. The unanimous cry of the Indians for punishing the officials responsible foe the horrible massacre in the Punjab and for setting right the Khilafat injsutice remains unheeded by the Government of India. When they do not wish to co-operate with us, why should we alone assist them? Some argue that, by becoming members of the new ~~achieve~~ Legislative Council, we can get our grievances redressed. We are not going to achieve anything more in the new Council than what we have done in the existing one. There will be a larger number of members in the new Council and some of our brethren will become ministers and occupy seats along with the official members. This may delight us; but the Ministers are powerless in regard to finance. Apart from all this, the blood stain of the Punjab has not yet been removed from the British Government, nor does it wish to get rid of it. Can we assist such a Government? If you do not wish India to acquire Home Rule and liberty and if it is your object that mother India should for ever be fettered by repressive laws, as she is now, and that ancient India should become westernised, you are at liberty to vote for any one you like. Otherwise, please remain at home on the date of the election and be engaged in worshipping mother India.

Non-co-operation

The DESABHIMANI, of the 7th November, writes in its leader under this heading:--The present day education has reduced the Indians to poverty and has made slaves of them. It does not enable them to live an independent life and rise to eminence. The educated Indians are all devoid of self-respect. It is ~~through~~ through the western education that things like an unquenchable thirst for material gains hold man under subjection and make a demon of him. That we should be prepared to receive such education betrays our ignorance. So there is nothing strange in Mr.Gandhi requiring us to boycott schools and colleges where western education is imparted.

Non-co-operation

In criticising the resolution of the Government on the non-co-operation movement, the HITAKARINI, of the 15th November, says that a policy of repression which the Government contemplate, can never suppress the movement. It writes:-- If the rulers resort to repression, they may be defeated and lose their place if the circumstances ~~resort to repressionk they may be defeated and lose their place if the circumstances resort-to-repression,-they-may-be-defe~~ are favourable to the ruled. History bears testimony to this. A better policy would be for the rulers to satisfy the desires of the ruled when the concensus of public opinion is strongly in favour of it. The Government of England by Kings is more stable than in other countries because England's Kings have given up their arbitrary authority and established the freedom of the people. If therefore the Government give up their obstinacy, free themselves from the blindness of the pride of their power, punish the Punjab murderers, revise the Turkish peace terms and amend the Reforms Act as desired by the leaders of the people. India will give an assurance in writing on a copper plate that she will remain in the British Empire as long as the sun and moon last. If, on the other hand, the Government depending on their strength, forget past history and attempt to repress the people, such a policy will meet with the same result in India as in other countries. The responsibility lies with the Government.

Non-co-operation

The HITAKARINI, of the 15th November refers, in detail to what it considers as the defects of the reforms granted to India, and concludes as follows:-- Whether we return members to the Councils or not, we will reap no good inasmuch as the reforms are unsatisfactory. Why should we co-operate with the Government in carrying out the reforms when we do not gain anything thereby? If we lay bare the arbitrary authority wielded by the Government of India, can they raise their

head before the other States in x the world? Even though we do not send any members to the Councils, some members will be returned. But they will soon learn the true policy of the Government and then join the non-co-operation movement. We therefore hope that the ANDHRA voters will not be influenced by the selfish people, but will express their disapproval of the xf reforms by not going to the polling booths.

Non-co-operation

The HITAKARINI, of the 15th November, gives in Telugu what the YOUNG INDIA writes, containing the following remarks, among others:--. . . The time has come when every voter has to consider the question whether it is advisable to help a Government, who have violated national honour by the Punjab horrors and who have done injustice to the Muhammadans in the matter of the Khilafat. The Government have decided to continue their sinful and improper bureaucratic rule in future also, under xx a cruel administrative policy under xx which the people have been deceived on the pretext of representative Government and the Jallianwala Bagh murders were perpetrated. . .

Non-co-operation

The HITAVADI, for October, disapproves of the non-co-operation movement, says that the Indians will do well to abandon it and exhorts those who can carry out the SWARAJ movement well to enter the Councils and with firmness of purpose place their views before the Government.

Non-co-operation

The KANTHIRAVA, of the 23rd November, under the head line 'How to strengthen non-co-operation' observes:--The policy of Government as regards non-co-operation, it is stated ~~stated,~~ depends upon the attempts of those that are struggling for xxxx co-operation. If the co-operators win, Government will continue their present policy, and if on the other hand, they fail, Government will reintroduce repression in the land. Repression has not succeeded in the past and cannot xxxxxx

succeed in the future. It is, therefore, most desirable that Government, in order to strengthen the hands of co-operation, should weaken non-co-operation. Non-co-operation and bureaucratic sway will come to an end, if Government, repeal all repressive legislation, admit that they went wrong in the Punjab affairs by following the advice of Michael O'Dwyer and Dyer, and punish all those that were responsible for the Martial Law disorders. Side by side with this if the Indians are given a greater percentage of high posts, the anxiety of Government to invest the people with full responsible Government will be proved to be true. If Government do not thus make clear their intentions as regards the administration of India by acts such as these, non-co-operation will naturally the administration of India by acts such as these, non-co-operation will naturally become strong and powerful. The various political parties in India, though fighting with each other without fully accepting the principle of non-co-operation, it is wrong to assume that they will accept every administrative measure of a foreign Government and always side it. Why more? Did not the British themselves prefer their own wicked king John to a good French enemy-king? How then can the moderates, born of the same mother as the nationalists, be expected to respect a foreign Government? Consequently, Government will do well not to rely upon any particular party and, by following a liberal policy, avoid the misunderstandings that now exist between the rulers and the ruled.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 1st December, in the course of a leading article, writes:--

Non-co-operation

Eight crores of rupees are being expended for education in India. If we boycott schools, we will only be renouncing our claim to the benefit of the eight crores of rupees which we have paid in the form assessment ~~Government.~~ It is wrong to do so. If it be contended that subjects that are deleterious to the welfare of our country or subjects that are opposed to the attainment of self-government are being taught in Government schools, we can well prevent

people who are inimically disposed towards our elevation from serving as teachers in those schools. Besides, we can have special private arrangements made to teach our children subjects that are conducive to our winning self-government and economic prosperity. It is we that will have to bear the whole cost of maintaining national schools to be started independently by us, and this amount may as well be utilised for imparting political education which will secure self-government to our country. Consequently, it is not advisable to boycott schools.

The redemption of the country

21. Remarking that the main ambition of the Congress and its sympathisers is to secure the redemption of India by preserving her honour and saving her life, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd November, observes:--It is needless to detail here how incessantly and unbearably we have had to pocket insults on account of our being under the absolute sway of alien rulers. Our honour is cast to the winds in various ways, in our being given only the subordinate offices, in our being treated as mummies in regard to finances, in our being proclaimed to the world as a barbarous race, in the cruelties committed in the colonies, etc. The position assigned to us especially in connexion with the army needed for the country's defence is highly disgraceful. As regards the preservation of the life of India, she was sleeping all along without realising the danger she was in, until she was roused by the late Mr.Dadabhai Nowroji. He has very clearly pointed out, by means of official statistics, that there has been an annual drain of thirty to forty million pounds from India on account of the autocratic administration of foreign rulers, that it is not possible for any country to survive such a drain and that, if this policy is not changed, the population of this country will get thinned very soon. The late Mr.G.Subramaniya Ayyar in Madras and other leaders elsewhere also made great efforts

to apprise the people of the situation. As a result of this, an unquenchable thirst for liberty was created all over the country and the people have not as yet come to a conclusion as to the means of satisfying this craving for redemption. The Indian National Congress is led by experts who feel convinced, by their experience of history and political sagacity, that public opinion has almost a divine force, that an important principle on which the majority of the people in a country are of one accord is sure to win and that there is no force in this world which can prevent its success. That is why the Congress is adopting means to spread nationalistic views throughout the country. It is only this principle that will succeed in the end, as borne out by experience in many countries. Though it is not possible to foretell what shape future events will take, considering the force of the agitation already going on for SWARAJ, it is certain that we will have redemption in the near future. In the meantime we have to forget all our differences and strive for giving effect to the main principle of the Congress.

The greatness of Mr.Gandhi

23. Quoting an extract from the annual report of the Government of India to Parliament for the year 1919, in which they have described Mr.Gandhi as one who is deemed to be a follower of the high ideals of Tolstoy, and who wields immeasurable influence with the people, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd November, says:--Why do the Government of India who speak so highly of Mr.Gandhi, misunderstand his good intentions. Cannot they act on his suggestion at least now, understanding why he has started the non-co-operation movement? When Mr.Gandhi supported the indemnity Act, Sir William Vincent and other praised him to the skies. Now his non-co-operation movement is characterised by Lord Chelmsford to be the most foolish of all foolish movements. Let our friends judge for themselves the attitude of the Government, of India.

Genl

24. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th November, writes:--

Mr.Montagu and the Punjab disturbances.

Responsible statesmen have realised that the disturbances in the Punjab last year should not be called a rebellion. But Colonel Yate referred to them in Parliament as such and described, as convicted conspirators, Mr.Hari Kishen Lal and others, who were unjustly placed in custody during the disturbances, of last year and who were subsequently released as a result of His Majesty's Proclamation. The fact that Mr.Montagu did not take exception to these statements, will make others think that he approves of them. Does Mr.Montagu sincerely deem Mr.Hari Kishen Lal and others to be conspirators? It is clear from Mr.Montagu's speeches and other things that he carries on the administration with a view to satisfy the moderates as well as the Anglo-Indians in India and please Colonel Yate and the Sydenham party in England. Some have come forward to set up a statue to him also in India!

25. Referring to the communique of the Government of

The attitude of Government

India regarding the non-co-operation movement, the HINDU NESAN, of the 23rd November, expresses its satisfaction at the Government which used to adopt severe repressive measures even in cases where their necessity was doubtful, now saying that they would not resort to repression unless it was absolutely essential and observes:--Seeing that the Government of India are prepared to have patience giving up their usual excitement, we believe that the time is near at hand for the restoration of the faith of the people in British justice. It is the duty of the Government not to take to repression, unless other ways and means fail to restore tranquillity and we are glad that this ordinary principle is recognised by our Government at least now. But, unless the Government, without stopping short with this, take further steps to reform the existing state of affairs, the efforts made to stifle the non-co-operation

movement will go in vain. These efforts may, in a way, impede the spread of the movement and may create an interest among the moderates in the advancement of constitutional Government But they can never remove the root causes of the discontent of the people and, until these causes are removed by the Government themselves, the non-co-operation movement will continue. There are many even among the nationalists who feel that this movement is a mischievous and dangerous ~~among the nation~~ one and if they are to come forward to work against the movement and co-operate with the Government, the latter should do away with the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, should deprive the bureaucracy of their facilities for doing harm and render justice to the Punjab.

The condition of India

26. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd November, publishes a story, from the pen of a correspondent, in which a lady is described as wailing over her lot on the summit of the Himalayas and narrating her past glory and present fallen condition and an elderly son of hers by name Gandhi springs out from behind the tree underneath which she is sitting and consoles her, by promising not to leave her any longer at the hands of others. In the course of her wailings, the lady is reported to have made the following observations among others:--Sister England! You have forgotten all the help I rendered you. You were born poor! You had nothing to give to your children. The moment they were born, you sent them away to your sisters. You sent them to Africa for gold and silver. You sought Germany for drugs. America supplied kerosene oil. You had coal and iron; but of what use were they to you? You had to get every essential of life from others. As you were young and as I had a love for you, I was giving you everything! To be brief, it may be said that your development so far is due to me. But all this does not satisfy some of your sons. You were in danger and it looked as if you would be rooted out. I sent my sons by thousands and saved you.

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What reward had I from you? You looked on when your sons introduced curious repressive laws. The fuss made by them here is unbearable. They mock at my children.

The patriotism of the Adi Dravida

27. In the course of a leader on this subject, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th November, refers to a meeting of the Adi Dravidas recently held at the Gokhale Hall, and, remarking that the resolutions passed at this meeting indicate only the slavish intellect of those assembled there, adds:-- It was stated at the meeting that, if the Indians drive out the Englishmen by means of the non-co-operation movement, they (the Adi Dravidas), who were the descendants of a English peace ~~inxtke~~ community which helped, acting in conjunction with Mr.Clive, to establish English peace in the country, would war with other Indians and bring ~~ashamed-of-their~~ back the Englishmen. We cannot class as men those who, instead of being ashamed of their ancestors having betrayed the country into the hands of Clive, a foreign enemy with the habit of committing forgery, proclaim that they would commit even a greater treachery than what their ancestors had committed, if the Englishmen happen to run away from this country. It used to be said that a country in which one is born is sweeter than one's own mother. Those, who are for perpetuating a foreign rule in the land of their birth, therefore display only a slavish spirit. The grievances of the Panchamas here are purely internal ones. It indicates only their ignorance that they should, instead of trying to get them remedied by means of the excellent weapon of non-co-operation, seek the aid of the unsympathetic foreigners. We can surely assert that the grand words of these that they will war with other Indians and suppress them do not terrify the latter.

29. Adverting to a report submitted to the Parliament by the Government ofIndia about the situation in India

India in 1919

in 1919, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 26th November, writes:--It is stated in the preface that administrative reforms have been introduced by the Parliament in a liberal spirit. We do not know what meaning thewwriter of the report, intended to attach to the word 'liberal'. Our question is whether those ~~report~~ to whom these reforms are intended ~~to~~ are satisfied with them. No other party except that of Lord Chelmsford appears to be satisfied with the liberality of the Parliament. If the word 'liberal' had been omitted from the sentence, it would ~~itself-admits-that-the-reforms-~~ have indicated at least the magnanimity of the Government of India. The report itself admits that the reforms have widened the gulf between the moderates and the nationalists. So the only result of the reform scheme, as far as we are concerned, is the creation of unnecessary parties in India. In speaking of the differences among these parties, the report asserts that the leaders thereof have no administrative experience, It has become usual for those with a white skin to make this remark. This is just like telling a person that he cannot get into water until the knows to swim. Indians who have been allowed a small share in the administration till now have discharged their duty creditably indeed. But the above statement in the report makes it appear that it is only the leaders of political parties that lack experience of administration and that those who are outside these parties possess the same. If this is the view of the writer of the report, it shows only his ignorance. If Mr.Tilak had been appointed the Viceroy of India, would he not have conducted the administration efficiently? A statement is found in the report that Mr.Gandhi realised his folly after the Punjab disturbances and that he intimated his readiness to co-operate with the Government for restoring peace. We thought that, while making mention of Mr.Gandhi's mistake, the report would also dwell a little

upon those of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the atrocities of devils like General Dyer. But, instead of doing so, this part of the report aims at making the world believe that it was to correct the mistake of Mr.Gandhi that the Government of India introduced Martial Law. It is again stated in the report that, whenever the action of the Government of India was condemned by the Indian papers, it would be supported by the Anglo-Indian papers. This will clearly show the gulf between the view of the Indians and that of the Anglo-Indians always lends the support of one party to Government. Thus the statesmanship of the authorities will depend upon deciding the support of which party they should rely upon. But our Government of India need no advice on this matter; for their likes and dislikes are always turned in the wrong direction. If they had yielded to the SATYAGRAHA agitation last year, the Punjab disturbances would not have followed, leading to the death of hundreds of persons and so much of discontent would not have been created against the Government. Now would the non-co-operation movement have been started so vigorously. It would be well if the Government, who were indifferent to the agitation of last year relying upon the support of the Anglo-Indian press, spend their thought on their past action at least now. But the doubt is whether they will do so. We hope the writer of the report or the Government of India will not be provoked when we say that there is nothing interesting in it. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was at least couched in fine language. But the present report is defective even in this respect. We wish to know how much of money has been spent for Mr.Rushbrook Williams who drafted this report and whether he has taken over permanently for this purpose from the Patna College wherein he was a professor

The condition of Indian labourers.

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34. The TAMIL NADU, of the 28th November, writes:--People would struggle in the world for liberty. But it is only in India that people suffer to come under a foreign rule, it was rolling in wealth. That opulence did not disappear even

during the period of the Muhammadans who had been attracted only by its wealth; for, the Muhammadans settled here and did not return to Arabia. All the natural products of the country were not exploited and carried away elsewhere. The wealth of India remained in India alone. But now! There is no Home Rule, no liberty, no protection of honour and no respect. It is hard to get even a full meal. What will the poor do? Whose support will they seek?

37. The TAMIL NADU, of the 28th November, has the following running comments upon the visit of Colonel Wedgwood:-

Tit-bits.

It is a part of our nature to receive and treat our guests. It is owing to this nature that we allowed Englishmen who came here as merchants to carry on trade. But the nature of Europe is different. Their civilization teaches that a guest should be driven out. That Colonel Wedgwood has become a friend of the Indians is very unpalatable to the district officials. It could have suited their taste if he had been like Sir Valentine Chirol who reviled Mr.Tilak. The bureacucrats have betrayed their unjust acts to 'Wedgwood'. 'Wood' has dis covered things for himself without mentioning them. This is a service done by the authorities!

39. In a lengthy leader ~~this-headi~~ under this heading the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th November, writes:--It is a fact patent to all except the moderates that it is not possible for the Indians having self-respect and a spirit of liberty to co-operate with the bureaucracy that is conducting the administration of India. If the people are to co-operate with the Government, the latter should seek it at the hands of the former. But it is a fact borne out by long experience that in India the authorities act only according to their own wishes without caring for the co-operation ofthe people. Unless the administration is made responsible to the people, the authorities will continue to follow the present course.

Co-operation is not possible

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Many say that, as the system of administration has been reformed and the people have been invested with powers, the latter should co-operate with the Government. Had any reforms been effected so as to place ~~in~~ power in the hands of the people, there would have been a corresponding change in the attitude of the ~~people, there would have been~~ officials also. But there is not the least change in it. It is understood from the BOMBAY CHRONICLE that a student of the Veterinary College in Bombay, who was a stipendiary of the Gwalior State, was dismissed from the college and was deprived of his stipend for having attended Mr.Gandhi's lecture and for having kept in his possession a copy of his photograph. This student was serving in the regiment of the Gwalior State and also fought on behalf of the British during the great war. If the authorities are to tease people like this, how can any respectable man co-operate with them? As long as the present situation and policy continue, co-operation is certainly not possible. But there is a difference of opinion only as regards the step to be taken next. The bureaucracy will not change, unless the administrative power is transferred to the people. It is the view of many nationalists that the scheme chalked out by Mr.Gandhi will not do to secure administrative power for the people. We hope the Nagpur Congress will decide upon the means by which we can ~~gixen~~ gain our end by paralysing the bureaucracy without resorting to force.

The immediate result of the reforms.

41. Remarking that, though a few are deluded into the belief that the new Government to come into power next year will guide the country towards a speedy acquisition of Home Rule, the great evil that will immediately result from the reforms is excessive expenditure, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th November, refers to the increase in the number of members of Government and the addition of ministers and a President of the Council and observes:--Seeing that under the reforms, education, sanitation, agriculture and other subjects will be transferred

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to the Ministers, the work of the present members of Government will be considerably reduced, even if their present strength is continued. So we do not see the necessity for increasing the number of the latter by one. What doubt is there that the increase of their number to four when, on account of the reduction of their work, two members would do quite well, will create a suspicion in the minds of many? Thus the increase in the number of officials and expenditure is therefore the main result of the reforms. How can the Government meet this enhanced expenditure except by imposing new taxes? If they reduce some of the existing items of expenditure, they can meet the excess to be incurred. But what items will the Government reduce? Will they reduce the salary of the Governor or the cost of the exodus to ths Hills or the expenses of the Ecclesiastical Department, which is maintained at the cost of the Indian revenues? But the salaries of the missionaries of this department were increased only recently.

42. Quoting figures to show that the increased cost to the State on account of the enhancement of the salaries

Increased expenditure.

of higher officials comes to 3½ crores of rupees, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th November, says:--All the officials whose salaries have been increased belong to the higher ranks and we need not say that the majority of them are Europeans. To this expenditure will be added that incurred for the new appointments created under the reforms. Who will suffer by this? Is it not the tax payers? Are they prepared to undertake this increased expenditure? If this is the case with expenditure for the officials we need not say much of the military expenditure. This was 85 crores in 1919-20 and the budget for 1920-21 provides for 60 crores. To add to this expenditure, the Esher report has now been published and it will surely increase it further. The new reforms can never reduce this expenditure. While so, do those, who wish for SWARAJ, want to take part in giving effect to these reforms?

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43. Observing that the Government have not yet been pleased to release the Savarkar brothers who have been in the Andamans for the last 10 years, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th November, says:--When 'offenders' have not reformed by imprisonment for 10 years, what will it avail by keeping them in prison for any number of years? It is indeed regrettable that, though numerous political prisoners have been released as a result of the Royal Proclamation, these brothers, who profess to support the reforms, have not had the benefit of the concession. The Government will only lose by acting mercilessly like this and it will not increase the respect of the people form them. There is a limit to everything. Is it fair or charitable to make consumptive patients suffer in the Andamans? It is not possible to co-operate with a Government which does not render even this justice.

The Savarkar brothers

44. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th November, publishes two cartoons describing the present situation in India. In the first Mrs.Besant is pointing out an ass representing the new Legislative Councils to the candidates for election and describing it as a 'superb charge that will outstrip the wind when it gallops, and Mr.Gandhi warns the candidates that it is not a horse at all. In the Second, the cart of Indian Government drawn by the bulls of Hindus and Muhammadans and driven by Lord Chelmsford, stops on account of the bulls having been teased and, seeing that the latter will not move even when goaded by the military, the commander in charge of the cart wants the driver to ask the candidates to get up behind. But mother India and the Congress are entreating them not to do so, as 'the unbearable weight of the cart can be reduced only if they refrain from getting into it' and even if it moves it will lead only to the city of new taxes.

The present situation

45. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 23rd November, says:--

November 30th

The Reforms Act vests us with some powers, but it cannot revive the self-respect of the Indians; it cannot remove the disgrace caused to them; it cannot heal the wound inflicted on the Punjab; it cannot solve the Khilafat question; it cannot repeal the Rowlatt Act and remove the series of repressive measures which restrict people's birthrights. The residents of the Madras Presidency have to answer on the 30th November the question whether they want small reforms or immediate SWARAJ. If they want the latter in order to free themselves from all their difficulties, they will not take part in the forthcoming elections. If they accept the present reforms, the attainment of SWARAJ will become more distant, the right of self-determination will not be given, and the people will have to wait for the favour of others. The Congress has characterised the Reforms Act as disappointing and unsatisfactory. We are not actuated by any selfish motive in demanding SWARAJ. We want it so that the country may raise its head in the world and that the people may discharge their duty without obstruction and thrive in any way they like. . . SWARAJ is not a thing that comes from outside. It must grow from within. India demands the right of self-determination; because she cannot progress under the direction of others. If she is to get self-government from the English step by step as provided for by the Reforms Act, she will lose her claim to be called Hindustan and may better be called 'Englishtan'. Mr.Gandhi does not want such SWARAJ. So long as India imports into her English institutions, she cannot enjoy SWARAJ Mr.Frederick Harrison writing to the LONDON TIMES says that the western civilization is bringing about its own ruin. When leaders in England themselves hold such views, why should not the Indians cease to be fascinated by the western civilization? The non-co-operation movement chalks out a way for doing so. The boycott of councils, is the first stage in non-co-operation. If the

country follows this, the edifice of freedom will open its gates. If the moderates and the JUSTICE party enter the Councils, neither the people nor the Government nor the world can deem them to be representatives of the people. It is mad to suppose that the new movement has suffered merely because many such men are standing as candidates. In the absence of nationalists in the Council, the authorities will find it difficult to know the views of the people. It will not be possible to impose additional taxes required for purposes of administration unless the wishes of the people are satisfied. The JUSTICE party are not yet free from the illusion of offices and the desire for the honour of Legislative membership. They will not realise the truth till they fully experience these two. They will then join the people. The Brahmans will do well to resign their offices and Council membership in their favour. Some years ago the Muhammadans paid no regard to the Congress in opposition to the Hindus. The authorities were rallying them to their side. Now after learning the conditions by experience, they are more forward in the national movement than the Hindus. . . Whatever be the number of candidates, if the voters do their duty the movement will succeed. If India stands this first test, the authorities cannot but grant the wishes of the Indians. It is in this way that independence was granted to Egypt. If India fails to stand the test, she will let slip an important opportunity. There is no use regretting afterwards.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 25th November, contains in its leader under this heading

November 30th

sentiments similar to those appearing in its issue of the 23rd idem and says in addition:-- The Rowlatt Law has disclosed the helplessness of the people. The Punjab disorders have confirmed the necessity of the attainment of SWARAJ. The way to attain it has been fixed by the Congress to be self-help. . . The thing to be immediately done is the boycott of Councils. The people should gird up their loins to accomplish it. . . The duty of voters does

not end with the completion of their ~~protest are~~ elections. They must publish that those who entered the Councils in spite of their protest are not their representatives and ask them to resign. Agitation must be started against them. Self-respecting representatives cannot but resign then. If even under such circumstances, they disregard the wishes of the people, it will become plain that they are not the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils cannot then be considered as such. How can the councils then go on? Will it be possible to impose new taxes? Even the bureaucracy cannot enact such a drama long. SWARAJ will certainly come then. In the meantime, the people must depend on self-help and manifest their constructive energy by establishing their own educational institutions, settling their disputes themselves, etc. In doing all this, the people should not commit any physical violence. Soul force is quite enough to oppose brute force.

46. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th November, refers to the article in the LEADER ridiculing Mr.Gandhi and remarks:--Viewed from the national standpoint, there is nothing wrong in Mr.Gandhi's movement or his words. His statements that the establishment in India of self-government like that obtaining in the Colonies will not give SWARAJ to India and that western civilisation, which is taking the life blood out of England, will not last long, give expression only to truth. There is nothing strange in that Mr.Gandhi appears to those who cannot see the dawning of a new era in India, to be mad, and the people to be unwise.

Mr.Gandhi's movement

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47. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 27th November, refers to the Conference of Missionaries held at Calcutta and says:- The missionaries have advised the Indians to use the reforms and make progress in the country. But we do not see any connection between the principles they have first enunciated and the advice they have then given. If the ideal of brotherhood

The advice of the missionaries

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should influence all affairs, why should not all parts of the British Empire be given equal freedom and the rights of self-determination be granted to all nations? Why should reforms which nobody wants be thrust upon the Indians? Why should repressive laws be passed despite the cries of the people against them? Why should the representation of the Indians on the Punjab and Khilafat questions be disregarded? When these questions are not satisfactorily answered, to urge the Indians to make use of the reforms is opposed to the principles which the missionaries have enunciated. Is it the intention of the Missionary Conference that the Indians should forget their miserable condition and rest satisfied with some offices of authority? The missionaries are not unaware that the present authorities have made brute force their means to enforce their power. It is plain that even to-day, they depend upon brute force to govern ~~their power.~~ people in the Punjab and the other provinces. The conference, of course, advises the Government to cease to use brute force and the people to co-operate with the Government. Is it not the duty of the people to oppose the attempts of the Government to maintain their authority by the use of brute force? This duty has assumed the form of non-co-operation. This is not the time to give advice to the support of the non-co-operation movement. This not the time to give advice to the contrary. As stated by Mrs.Besant in the UNITED INDIA; the acts of the bureaucracy are a thorn on the side of the people. The people are groaning under the dishonour caused to them. If this had happened in the west, we can easily guess what a critical situation would have been created. The Indians who are naturally meek conducted themselves with patience. It is, however, heroic to wipe off the disgrace caused to the country and not to suffer it. The people do not now hate others. They are manifesting their spirit of renunciation in following the policy of non-co-operation. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, if the missionaries also work conjointly with the people, they will be doing some good to the British

Empire. If they do not, they will be failing in their duty.

50. The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 16th October, gives the various recommendations made by the All-India Congress Committee in pursuance of the Congress resolutions, and the letter which the voters are advised to sign and send to the Congress, and concludes:--. . . Now, our people, in the same name of 'Civilisation', are spending extravagantly their money for the purchase of unnecessary foreign things, and the Europeans and others who have occupied our country with the intention of profitting themselves are now preventing us from obtaining SWARAJ. If we take to our old customs and renounce such articles as unnecessary, it will be greatly conducive to our own and our country's welfare. Articles of food are obtainable in our own country. The cotton required for our clothing can be had here. If, as in our olden days, we again engage ourselves with the spinning wheel in our houses for the preparation of our clothing, and wear for sometime at least coarse cloths, the foreigners will close their shops and go. We will be happy and our country will obtain SWARAJ.

The Congress principles

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51. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 13th November (received on the 29th), publishes as its leader under this heading what appears over the name, 'Sir Aravinda Ghose,' which contains passages to the following effect:--A nation, so long as it is under a foreign rule, cannot be called a free nation. Until rule by the people is established, internal control cannot develop in that nation. What we want is complete SWARAJ. We want freedom from the bonds of the direction of foreigners. We want complete popular Government in our own house. This is the end and aim of our politics. I shall dwell briefly on the cause of this desire. Foreign subjection is death and destruction to a nation. Self-government is the goddess of bliss that preserves national life, the ideal that leads to the higher

The definition of freedom

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path, the best means that secures SWADHARMA. . . A story is current that it is villainy and sedition to cherish the desire for freedom outside the British Empire. There is no connection between such an ideal and sedition. The English politicians themselves have accepted that the desire for such SWARAJ is the end of politics. The question whether our freedom is to be within or without the Empire does not now arise. What we want is complete SWARAJ. If it should conform to the British Imperial policy, we would have no objection. We long for SWARAJ for the protection of our country, and not out of spite towards the English. . . It is for this reason that the Congress creed is dangerous to the country.

The duty of the Moderates.

52. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 13th November (received on the 29), writes under this heading to the following effect:--Mr.Montagu, Lord Sinha, and Lord Chelmsford have expressed a pessimistic view of the results of the 'Non-co-operation' movement of Mahatma Gandhi. The movement, on the other hand, has received the assent of the Congress and is daily waxing stronger, It is spreading to small villages, engendering an extraordinary awakening, union and strength of will. The recent communique of the Government bears out that the Government have also recognized the reality of it. . . This movement came into existence after the methods of the moderates had failed. People has to resort to this, left without an alternative to remove their difficulties. Will the moderates now venture to say that there is still room for their methods of memorials? They also have expressed their dissatisfaction in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat affairs and reforms. They too have [in every way to set right these wrongs. But their complaints have also] proved to be a cry in the wilderness. With what check can Mr.Srinivasa Sastriyar, Mr.Sathe, and H.H. the Aga Khan encourage the people? What is the good of the Government turning a deaf ear to the councils of the moderates and asking them, "why do you not co-operate with us?" The present silence of the moderates is not the outcome of their confidence

in their methods. They are troubled with a want of faith in the success of 'Non-co-operation'. They know that the Government will not allow this 'Non-co-operation' movement to go on peacefully. . . . The question of Mr.Setalvad, the foremost of the moderates, ~~thinks~~ "While the acts of the Government are the rootcause of this boycott agitation, what is that we can do without the Government correcting themselves"? Is reasonable. Mr.Chintamani holds the same view. This boycott movement have been started to open the eyes of the bureaucracy. Their hard-heartedness is the cause of the present bad condition. They have forfeited the confidence of the people by their own acts. There is no use of their admonishing the moderates or threatening the nationalists with a view to stop this agitation. So long as the angle of vision of the bureaucracy does not change, there can be no means for establishing peace in the country. Will the moderates now at least discern their duty and offer fitting counsel to the authorities? Oh! ye moderates! the Government commend their own forbearance so far. Tell them that it is the Indians who are blessed with SATVA (Equanmimity) that have been really showing patience and self-control, after the bloodshed in the Punjab, after the violence offered to the faith of the Muhammadans, and after the disappointment of the reforms. Proclaim that repression had never protected despotism in any country. Assert fearlessly that it was the despotism of the authorities that deprived you of your influence in the country. Argue with them that the keeping down of India with her 30 crores of people in the well of servitude when the whole world is lit up with the glory of rfreedom, is a stain on their reputation and prestige. The country is now placed in a great calamity. . . Even women shed tears deploring the misery of their country sitting before the spinning wheel. Do not feel afflicted that in this crisis votes are being withheld from you and that a few mischief-makers have been doing it. Neither Mr.Gandhi nor his followers are the authors of this crisis. . . This the new

manifestation of the universal force. Who is there that can resist it? Mr.Churchill laments that the whole world is conspiring to bring about the disintegration of the British Empire. This is short-sightedness and delusion due to an ignorance of the universal awakening now going on. Fall not in that delusion, shake off your silence, let go self-seeking. Take a broad view of the world, think of the destiny of your country and turn the authorities into the right.

Students and non-co-operation

56. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 7th November, asks "if it is right that students should make themselves accustomed to the transactions of selling their lives in sinful schools while their kith and kin are rushing into the battle field," wherein there is no occasion for the use of arms and says that they (students) are ready to follow the policy of non-co-operation, but that their minds are agitated as to what they should do after leaving the colleges in the absence of national colleges.

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The report of the Esher Committee

57. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 7th November, reviews the report of the Esher Committe and says:--The real President of the Committee is not Lord Esher, but Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Punjab tyrant, the root cause of the Punjab maladministration and the Punjab horrors. If the non-co-operation movement had not been in full swing, the report would have been subjected to strong criticism on the platform and in the press. The very fact of its not being criticised shows that the people firmly believe that the Government may stoop to do any misdeed and that criticism meetings and resolutions have no effect on them. Under the recommendations of the committe e, Indians cannot have any authority over the Indian army. It follows from this that we can never attain an equal status with the colonials. Again we, who are not a free nation ourselves, are reduced to the wretched position of helping to deprive other nations of their freedom. Besides, we are required to bear the

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cost of the development of the British Empire. In regard to the question of enlisting a great number of Indians in the army, the members of the committee remarked that they could not agree to the army receiving training under them, being used against themselves. The meaning of this is quite clear.

60. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 27th November, in an English article writes:--

The student revolt

"The students of Aligarh, Lahore, Amritsar and other places have been showing a great spirit of unrest. It is said that India's soul is revolting against the humiliation and insults offered to her every day. It is high time that the British Government should note this and take steps to see that British justice and fairplay are restored to their position without the least delay. Unless this unrest of the students is calmed by a policy of unmixed justice and fair-play, it may develop itself into a revolt, and procrastination in doing justice may lead to complications, escape from which may become impossible. The Government have, doubtless, in their hands civil and military resources, to powerful to be resisted. But these powers are given to Government to uphold truth, justice and fair-play. If they are prostituted for unjust and unconstitutional purposes, it is ten to one that they may lead to the decline and fall of the Empire itself. The fall of the many ancient empires bears out this truth. The latest revolutions in Europe confirm it. We hope the British Government and the Government of India will ponder over this affair and do what is necessary to consolidate its moral foundation."

62. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 30th November, in its short notes remarks:--Wisdom

Indian affairs in Parliament.

lies in giving replies to indiscreet critics befitting their indiscretion. But our Secretary of State for India sometimes never utters a word of reply to his opponents in Parliament, and even when he speaks only

just to pacify their anger, whatever the true state of affairs might be. When various false rumours and accusations like 'Danger in India'. 'Revolution in 1919', etc., are levelled from the opposite camp, our Secretary of State, though aware of the true state of things, never retort in fitting terms, His silence on these occasions is apt to be construed as his approval of all they say.

Miserable condition of the Indians both in India and abroad.

63. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 3rd December, in the course of a leading article deploring the miserable condition of the Indians both in India and abroad, remarks:--The Indians are British subjects; but their rights and privileges are not respected even in the land of their birth. In foreign countries they are looked upon as something less than sweepers. While even the prostitutes Chinese and Japanese nationality are allowed free access into the Phillippine Islands, Mr.N,M.Godbole, M.A.B.SC., a professor in the Benarese Hindu University, was not allowed to land in these islands, despite his holding a passport from the Viceroy of India. It is said that such restrictions prevail in the case of Indians in Ceylon too. We really do not understand how those Indians that wish to co-operate with the people who have kept us in this down-trodden condition, only with an eye to earn money, could be treated with any consideration, and how the world would respect their rights and privileges. God help them!

The present political situation in India

69. In a leading article under the heading, "the present political situation in India', the MANORAMA, of the 19th November, refers to Colonel Wedgwood's views regarding non-co-operation, and to his opinion supporting the suggestion of Mr.Gandhi that a conference of the Government with Indian leaders should be convened, and says:--All admit the necessity for a conference to consider the present political situation

in India, and if the Government think of co-operating with the people it is absolutely necessary that such a conference should be convened. If the Government do not co-operate with the people, how can the people co-operate with the Government? British statesmen and administrators should pay special attention to this matter.

For the week ending 11th December 1920

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ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Congress and Indian Princes

1.Writing under this heading, the HINDU, ofthe 7th December, observes:--"The more constructively inclined of Indian political thinkers have reason for anxiety in the problem presented by the Indian States and their relation to British India. What exactly will be the position ofthese States in the new polity to the speedy fulfilment ofwhich wx all parties including our rulers are professedly pledged? The bureaucracy naturally does not worry overmuch. Whatever the measure of its sincerity in its professions, and that will soon be put to a searching test, it is no part of its duty to attempt to make the path smooth for a homogenous India, for that might mean the end ofthe British connexion or at least its weakening to a degree that would be a positive menace to the integrity of the Empire. Bound as the Government is by covenants with the rulers of these States, it would be unreasonable to expect it to force them to sacrifice their autocratic powers in order to achieve parity of polittical conditions between their territories and British India. . . What will be the position of the Indian States on the day when, thanks whether to Mr. Montagu or Mr.Gandhi, it does not signify much, India shall be fully self-governed? Will the Indian States remain arid patches of autocracy defiling a smiling prospect? What will be the relation of the rulers of the States to the democracy

of British India and to their own subjects? That it will be seen raises the question of whether the continued existence of these States is in best interests of our land. . . A self-governed India however will have no place for autocratic enclaves; neither can we tolerate long a situation in which these States can continue to act as drags on the wheels of progress. They must line up with the rest of British India or suffer absorption consoling themselves, if consolation were needed, with the unction that even the sacrifice of picturesque misrule is not too high a price to pay for the progress of the country towards democracy and self-government. As things are the Indian States bid fair to become the last strongholds of the alien bureaucracy. British India may not be ideally governed, but it positively coruscates when compared with the movement of government of Indian States. . . From the standpoint of democratic progress the Indian States are a generation behind British India. It is therefore a little amusing to find in the new draft constitution of the Congress that the national body is assumed to represent also the Indian States and that the people of these States are expected to take an active part in shaping the policy of the country. Considering the respect which their rulers show for the rights and liberties of their subjects, we are afraid that this expectation is bound to remain a pious hope. . . Charity may begin at home; self-abnegation does not. The meagreness reforms conferred by these Rulers on their grateful subjects are ludicrous in their meagreness and in the hollowness of their pretence. In the Indian States they play at democracy but everyone is perfectly aware that what the ruler gives he can take back and none can gainsay him. That the Congress which is embarked on an immense struggle should hesitate for fear of antagonising rulers who will be an anachronism in a self-governed India is a suggestion that could only come from a mind more anxious to please than to succeed. The problem is not one that will yield either to the snobbish servility that recommends itself

to our contemporary or the easy empiricism of the framers of the draft constitution who for the sake of a fictitious unity have chosen to ignore the considerable difference in political levels between British India and the Indian States."

VERNACULAR PAPERS

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indian labourers in the Fiji Islands.

9. The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 3rd December, in a short note, observes:--The condition of the Indian labourers in the Islands of Fiji is becoming more and more miserable day by day. Our readers may remember having read of a disturbance which took place there some time back and how the planters of the island threw x all the blame thereof on the Indians. Now it appears that the Government of the island ~~have~~ has set its seal of approval on the theory set up by the planters and has attributed the disturbance wholly to the Indians. From a statement published by Mr.Andrews, we learn that 30,000 Indian labourers are intending to leave the island, leaving behind them all their property, owing to the harrassment given to their leaders by the planters and the Government. This news is very painful to us. It is but mete that the Government of India ~~should~~ should feel it even in a larger measure. It is the prime duty of the Government of India to see that Indians are accorded equal treatment in every part of the British Empire. The duty of Lord Chelmsford should not end with the lip-sympathy he showed towards Indians in the Colonies in his opening and closing speeches in the last Imperial Legislative Council.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

Racial hatred

11. Referring to the advertisement in the last week's FORT ST. GEORGE GAZETTE inviting applications from non-Brahmans, who have taken the L.T.Degree, for the post of Sub-Assistant

Inspectors, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd December, remarks:- Though we are not sorry for applications having been called for only from non-Brahmans, we do regret to note the Director of Public Instruction or his ministerial adviser introducing caste distinctions into the department, without testing the capacity of the candidates by means of a competitive examination. It should not be concluded from this that we doubt the capacity of non-Brahman L.T's. It is our conviction that it is only if there is a process of selection among candidates to whatever class they may belong, it will be conducive to the development of education and the interests of the country. We do not approve of the appointments in the Educational Department being made to depend upon the likes and dislikes of those who advise the Director of Public Instruction. Our prayer to the agents of the Government is not to foster class hatred.

(k) General.

The present situation in India

18. Adverting to the observation of Mr.Montagu, that the situation in India is very serious, in the course of his reply to a member of Parliament in connexion with Indian affairs, the SWADESAMITRAN, ofthe 30th November, says:--What danger has now befallen to the British in India? Is their condition in India the same as it is in Ireland and Mesopotamia? It is true that the political situation here gives room for anxiety. But the observation referred to above was not made by Mr.Montagu in earnest. It is manifest that even the Government of India are not of this opinion, as they would have proceeded with their repression a long way if they had thought that the administration had been reduced to a very dangerous plight. There is no doubt that they would have intimated to Mr.Montagu that the situation here has not developed into a very serious one though it is far from being peaceful. We regret therefore that Mr.Montagu should have forgotten that his description of a situation, deemed to be normal by the Government of India,

in alarming terms just to satisfy some enemies of India, is highly injurious to Indian interests. It is equally regrettable that Mr.Montagu should, without at once protesting against our inveterate foe, Colonel Yate, referring in Parliament to the Punjab disturbances as the rebellion of 1919, have allowed the remark to spread. It is clear that those who wish to spread the idea, in speaking about the Punjab massacre, that it is a rebellion of the Indians against the English Government like the Mutiny of 1857 are intent on securing the introduction of more severe repressive measures in India. Our enemies, with the object of preventing the British public from objecting to the introduction of the worst measures of repression in India, are trying to dupe them by giving out that there is a great conspiracy for rioting in India. It is nothing but a pitiable situation that one without either the will or the capacity to say a word for safeguarding the honour and self-respect of India on such occasions and for establishing truth, should be in the position of the Secretary of State for India. It becomes a matter of foremost importance to impress on the British public the fact that it is only the members of parliament like Colonel Yate and English and Anglo-Indian statesmen like these that are making the situation in India more and more dangerous every day. Opinion has already gained ground in this country that it is only those who are not inclined to deal fairly towards India that command much influence in England. This one idea is enough to prejudice British interests in India. It is only when the impression is created in India, that in England only those are in power, who sincerely wish to fulfil the assurance of granting SWARAJ to India, that continuity of friendly relations between England and India will be possible There fore, if Mr.Montagu should wish that the condition of India should not become really dangerous as he has already described it out of fear, he should give up his wavering policy and boldly and unreservedly check, in and out of Parliament, Colonel Yate and other enemies of India. He should discourage

repressive policy in India completely, as in the present situation the adoption of repressive measures will surely be adding fuel to fire.

The visit of the Duke of Connaught.

19. Referring to the visit of the Duke of Connaught to India, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st December, observes:--Several officials drawing high salaries have already been appointed for making proper arrangements in connexion with this visit; and thousands of rupees are being expended. Our question is what each provincial government is going to spend when the Duke visits its capital. When Lord Chelmsford visited Madras at the beginning of this year and stayed for three days, it was stated that thousands of rupees were spent. The expenditure will doubtless be larger during the visit of a member of the royal family? Will the Publicity Bureau inform us of the estimated expenditure in this connexion?

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Self-help

22. Referring to Colonel Wedgwood's remarks on the non-co-operation movement, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 2nd December, writes:--We believe that his words will open the eyes of those who are still under the illusion that, with the help of the Labour Party in England, we can soon acquire SWARAJ. He says that, were he an Indian and had his countrymen been massacred and the author thereof rewarded with £20,000 and praised by a House of alien Lords, he too would have turned mad and would become reckless of the consequences. The terrible massacre and the disgraceful acts committed in the Punjab and the support these find in the Englishmen have caused in the minds of Indians a wound which can never be healed. It is therefore a mistake to expect the Indian race to remain peaceful as if nothing had happened. But, though it is true that it has lost its equanimity, it is quite wrong to say that it has turned mad with rage. India does not hate the English race; but she hates only that administrative policy which confers a pension upon,

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and affords trade facilities to, persons like Dyer without meting out any punishment to them. The Indian race has determined to have that policy xxxxx altered at any cost. If this is construed as madness, then the Indian race is really mad. The present movement is not one of hatred but one of self-defence Colonel Wedgwood informs us that he has written to the Secretary of State to say that we will stop all agitation if SWARAJ is promised to be granted within fifty years. He will be sadly disappointed if he thinks that we will be pleased with this announcement. If 50 years should be reduced to five years nay even to five months, India will not be satisfied. She wishes to have SWARAJ this very day, in fact this very hour. While so, it will be foolish to think that the fixing of a certain date will quench India's thirst for SWARAJ. It is no doubt necessary, for a difference to be settled, that the pxxxx parties concerned should meet and discuss. But we are not convinced that there will be any special advantage in the Prince of Wales presiding over the deliberations as suggested by Colonel Wedgwood. Further, none is at present empowered to speak on behalf of India except the Congress. The question is whether the English Government are prepared to confer with the Congress representatives in the matter of the grant of SWARAJ to India, and whether they agree to grant liberty prescribing only certain conditions regarding the facilities to be afforded to English officials and merchants? In fine, Indians should, without depending upon others, follow Mr.Gandhi's ways and try to secure a control, peacefully but resolutely, over the administration of the country.

Mr.Tilak on non-co-operation

23. In a lengthy leader on this subject the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st December, quotes extracts in Tamil from two of the lectures of the late Mr.Tilak, wherein he advocated non-co-operation with the Government in certain respects, and wanted the people to realise that they have the power to paralyse the administration of the country, and writes:--The

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authorities are able to govern this country as they like, because the people co-operate with them without resistance and without enforcing public opinion. As aresult of this, we are more and more slighted. So in order to avoid this situation, we should decline to co-operate with the officials and thereby impede the exercise of unlimited powers by them. If the position of the officials is made subordinate to that of the people, the former will, instead of slighting us, conduct themselves as servants of the public. This is the system obtaining in the west. Our troubles will be at an end if this system is introduced in India as well. But here we help the authorities and enable them to act as they like. If we are to be free from this situation, we should obtain a force whereby we can withhold the help we are now rendering. According to Mr.Tilak the principle of non-co-operation should be adopted only as a means for reaching the goal of SWARAJ, and should not be deemed to be a salutary one by itself. He advocated a resort to it only for securing political privileges by paralysing the administration of the bureaucrats. But Mr. Gandhi advises complete non-co-operation with everything connected with the Government, as the present Government is, in his opinion, a vicious one, and this is the argument adduced by him for advocating boycott of schools aided by the Government with our own money. Life will become impossible in India, if we are to resort to non-co-operation with the Government on the score that those conducting the administration follow vicious ways. We have necessarily to associate ourselves with the concerns of Government in our everyday life. The supply of drinking water may be quoted as an instance to in point. So, if we are not to co-operate with the Government because they are vicious, we will have to give up many things. It is only in view of this that certain items have been specified as fields for non-co-operation. We cannot believe that the nationalists desire to resort to non-co-operation because they consider it sinful to co-operate with this Government. They

wish to take it only with the object that it is one of the rare weapons which can secure redemption for the Indians who are under a foreign rule. The non-co-operation we practise should be such as to enable us to reach our goal. Mere boycott of schools, Legislative Councils and Law Courts cannot paralyse the Government. But the litigant public should cease seeking the aid of law-courts and for this purpose courts should be established by us. We should proceed on the lines indicated by the late Mr.Tilak, and prepare the people for this by means of propaganda work. By the time we carry out this completely, the bureaucrats and the ruling race may come round; otherwise it will become easy for us to gain our object peacefully.

Indian sepoys and the British Government.

25. Reproducing in Tamil the words of Mr.Hira Singh, an old Indian sepoy, to a European representative of a newspaper, wherein he dwells upon the services rendered by him in the British Army and the scant courtesy with which he is said to have been received by an official to whom he had gone to pay his respects, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd December, observes:--Indian sepoys by sacrificing their very lives enabled the English to get possession of India. During the siege of Arcot in 1752 the Indian sepoys gave the boiled rice to British soldiers keeping only rice-water for themselves and gained a victory. Any impartial person will see that this one instance is sufficient to make the English feel ever grateful to the Indians. But it is a matter known to all, what position the Indians are now holding in the army and what treatment is accorded to them in general. Monghir and Moorshedabad were conquered with the aid of the sepoys of Bengal, and the Punjab was annexed with the assistance of those of North India. During the mutiny of 1857, many Indians gave refuge to European ladies and children and protected them. Has anybody bestowed a thought as to how many Indians have given up their lives for the sake of the English? What is the

return which the Indians have got from the whites for all this? Even in 1813, when the foundation of the English Government was not properly laid in this country, the whole of a regiment was done for, for having declined to proceed to Rangoon on account of certain religious scruples. The recent Punjab incidents need no mention. These are fitting recompenses indeed for the services rendered by the Indians!'

Non-co-operation

28. The LOKOPAKARI, of the 25th November observes that it is the duty of every Indian to condemn this movement strongly, as it is prejudicial to the interests of the country, and remarks that it will not be conducive to the well-being of the students to advocate the boycott of aided schools, as there is not a sufficient number of national schools in this country to educate all the children.

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Remarking that the non-co-operation movement has achieved success in connexion with the boycott of Legislative Councils and that the Government grew anxious on account of the enthusiasm displayed by the people in this matter, the TAMIL NADU, of the 5th December, writes:--With a view to make the people exercise their franchise the Government made use of the Publicity Bureau and distributed broad-cast innumerable notices persuading the people to vote and did many things confidentially too. It was a sorry sight to see the Government taking pains in making the people attend and vote at the polling stations established for the purpose in quite a unique manner. Our first success has made those who, in the beginning, spoke disparagingly of non-co-operation and the boycott of Legislative Councils, speak of them now with respect. If the Government should realise that the people are endowed with the power of carrying out what they resolve to do, they will yield at once, We have, as far as possible, demonstrated this in the case of the boycott of Legislative Councils. The moment the power of the people gets higher, the officials must come down. Then the attitude

of the officials in slighting the people will disappear and the officials themselves will become the servants of the public as is the case in western countries. All our difficulties again will be at an end and we will reach the goal of SWARAJ easily. The Government are making every endeavour possible to screen the diminution in the number of those that exercised their franchise in consequence of our boycott, propaganda. They quote statistics to show that a fall in the number of voters is quite common in other countries too. This is indeed trying to hide the sun by the palm of one's hand!

Non-co-operation

The HINDU NESAN, of the 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 26th November, contains a series of articles pointing out the impracticability of the different stages of non-co-operation as chalked out by Mr.Gandhi.

Non-co-operation

The HITAKARINI, of the 22nd November refers to the resolution of the Government on the non-co-operation movement and says:--One of the reasons why the Government have not taken any action against the non-co-operationists is that they have placed faith in the wisdom of the Indians. If by wisdom is meant humble submission to what the rulers may do at their will and pleasure, there have been many such wise men from the beginning helping the Government. If, on the other hand, by wisdom is meant the strength of mind by virtue of which man thinks freely and works for his advancement fearlessly, it cannot but be admitted that by the adoption of non-co-operation, the Indians have revivified the glory of their pure wisdom. The resolution contains some words of advice. But the time is now long past when the words of advice contained in Government publications are accepted with blind faith. It is said that having failed to enlist the sympathy of the educated classes on their side, the non-co-operationists are influencing the students and the illiterate. This is untrue. Have the Government ascertained how many of the

educated classes have accepted the movement and how many, not? May the Government declare now at least in word and deed that their chief aim in the administration is the happiness of the people. If acting under false advice the rulers follow their foolish methods, they will have to tread the same paths as such men trod in the past. They exhort the people to put down the movement. This exhortation only makes the miserable condition of the Indians more manifest. We pray that the Indians will not mind these exhortations but will manifest their wisdom and their patriotism. . . May they protect mother India by working determinately without turning back.

Non-co-operation

Under the general heading 'Non-co-operation', the ANDHRA-PATRIKA, of the 26th November publishes what it calls a 'warning' to the students in which it exhorts them to use their influence with their friends and relations in making them not to vote on the 30th November and thus do their best for the attainment of national freedom.

Non-co-operation

The MALAYALA MANORAMA, of the 30th November, points out that from the occurrences at Aligarh, Benares and other places, it is evident that the non-co-operation movement is favoured by the students and expatiates on the folly of the suicidal policy of boycotting educational institutions. It is of opinion that Mr.Gandhi has not considered how the people can be fit for self-government unless they are educated, doubts whether he has seriously thought of the practicability of the scheme and concludes by remarking that it will be advisable that Indians should first educate themselves so as to become fit for self-government.

The MARGADARSI, of the 26th November, also points out that the movement is spreading amongst students and that the non-co-operators inveigle young men; because they do not meet with success in the case of mature politicians and

leaders, thinks that national education cannot be more beneficial than the present system of education and wishes that the contagion may not spread amongst the students of this Presidency.

30. The NAVASAKTI, of the 3rd December, observes:--The British are administering this country from a distance

India under the British rule

of several thousands of miles. Though Britain and India have been in close contact with each other for the last 150 years, no intimate relationship has yet been established between the two. Otherwise, non-co-operation movement would not have sprung up! This movement in itself will prove that the administration of India is not conducted on proper lines. Discontent has taken deep root in the country on account of the repressive policy of the bureaucrats. The Parliament is not in a position to understand the real condition of India as it is a long way off. The opinions of the Government of India are echoed by the Secretary of State and are believed by most of the Parliamentary Members. Perhaps the Parliament does not pay any heed to the fact that discontent prevails in India because the administration is conducted here by the bureaucrats as they like! The British should grant liberty to India at leas in consideration of the present crisis in the world. The Bolsheviks have come out with the object of capturing all the countries in the world and are daily achieving success in their attempts. It appears that they are doing propaganda work to a large extent in North Africa and India and are trying to attack France and Britain. Lennin, the Bolshevik leader, says that victory will be theirs, the treaty of Versailes will be set at naught and that the whole world will be brought under their control. Mr.Winston Churchill too considers that Bolshevism is spreading ~~in India is the British~~ all over the Empire. Aga Khan has also stated that Bolshevism will spread in India if the British should so conduct themselves as to create distrust in the minds of the people. It is the duty of the British keep the Empire

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andxalixthe unimpaired. India shines as the soul of the Empire and all the glory of the latter is due to her. But what is her present condition? Poverty, disease a and famine afflict her. Her labourers are suffering from want of food, clothing and shelter, while their labour is benefiting the capitalists. It is the labourers that form the populace of the country, without whose assistance neither the country nor the Government can ex exist; and yet we need not point out here how far the interests of these labourers are safeguarded in this country. There is no denying the fact that the whole of India is brimming with discontent. What is the cause of this though 150 years have elapsed since the advent of the British rule? If India should remain for ever under the British Empire, the British should render justice for the Punjab massacre and the Khilafat question, redress the grievances of the labourers and protect them against the oppressions of the capitalists, inasmuch as discontent among the labourers will promote Bolshevism in the land. The capitalists have now begun to disband labour unions and oppress the labour leaders. If the Government hesitate to interfere now and mete out justice, we assert that it will only end in trouble. If, as Mr.Churchill says, it is true that there are conspiracies against England in several places, it is needless for us to detail how the British should conduct themselves towards B India.

"Is India a dust-bin?"

31. Adverting to a communication appearing in the LONDON TIMES from its Canada correspondent, which states that, in a communique issued by the Government of Canada, India is said to afford a favourable market for their goods, and the importers in India are stated to be desirous of confining their trade within the Empire asfar as possible, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th December, writes under this heading as follows:--India serves at present as a dust bin for the articles of all countries. It appears as if many consider this

country to be a suitable place for all unserviceable and inferior articles, and for the last-rate British 'experts'. It will cause regret to every patriot to find that not only America and Japan but also the other portions of the British Empire are taking advantage of India's helplessness in the matter of levy of taxes and trying to enslave her. There is no truth in the statement found in the communique of the Government of Canada. There is not the slightest foundation for the observation therein that importers in India wish to confine their trade within the limits of the Empire. We will unhesitatingly assert that such queer ways are adopted only to keep off the goods of America, Japan and Germany from India and to flood her market with the goods belonging to the Empire.

Civil Service appointments

35. In a lengthy leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th December, remarks that, in spite of the administration of India being conducted nominally by His Majesty and the British Parliament, she is virtually governed by the civilian bureaucracy and observes:--Though there is no rule prohibiting Indians from being admitted to such an influential class of officials, it was for a long time kept as a reserve for Europeans and many obstacles were thrown in the way of Indians getting into it. In spite of this some Indians have overcome all these difficulties and entered that service by passing the prescribed examinations in England. It has been the desire of India for many years past, that the difficulties in the way of the Indians obtaining places in that service should be removed. Though, agreeably to such a wish, the House of Commons, resolved in 1892 that the Competitive Civil Service Examination should be held simultaneously in England and India, the then Secretary of State for India reduced that resolution to a dead letter, and it remains shelved up to date. The Government of India have now issued a resolution, embodying the recommendations of the Public Services Commission

that examinations should be held in England and India and candidates selected on the results of both of them, and according to it four methods of recruitment to the Civil Service are laid down, viz., (1) by a competitive examination in London, (2) by a similar examination in India, (3) by direct nomination by the Government of India and (4) by promotion from the Provincial Service. It appears Indians also will be admitted to the London examinations. The subjects for their examination in London have not yet been settled. Only such subjects should be prescribed as would give the least trouble to Indian students. Till now, subjects not useful for the future administrators of India continued to be among the prescribed subjects, Knowledge of Latin and Greek are of no use practically. Though European students, who receive a little training in such languages from their youth, may find it easy to read works in them for the examinations, it will be a difficult task for the Indian students. We hope that such subjects will be replaced by those relating to India. The resolution says that there will be no difference in status between those selected by means of the London examination and those chosen by means of the examination in India. If after selection of candidates in status between those selected by means of the London examination and those chosen by means of the examination in India. If after selection of candidates at these examinations it is found that a particular province of an important community has not secured sufficient representation on the Civil Service, nominations will be made by the Government of India for filling them up. Qualified persons will be successful in the examinations. Those failing in examinations should be deemed to be not so qualified. So the power of nominating failed candidates reserved by the Government of India is inconsistent with their policy laid down in the resolution that the main object of the Government will be to secure the services of the most efficient men possible. No doubt those that are to be promoted from the Provincial Service to the Civil Service will enjoy all the privileges of the latter.

But such a promotion is possible only if there are vacancies in the Civil Service. What is to become of the qualified persons in the Provincial Service, if no vacancies occur excepting those to be filled up by selection and nomination? If a certain percentage of the yearly vacancies is to be reserved for the qualified persons of the Provincial Service, the latter will attend to their work enthusiastically, without getting dispirited. Besides these, it appears 40 persons will be directly recruited from among the practising lawyers as District Judges in the whole of India, not all at a time, but only gradually by means of a test. We think that no test is needed. It is the opinion of many that the work of the Judges of the High Court is getting increased more and more as a result of the decisions of District Judges, not well versed in law. If eminent persons from among the Indian lawyers agree to serve as District Judges, their judgments will be better than those of the present civilian Judges. The Government have also proposed to appoint District Judges from those who have undergone the Barrister-at-law course in England. If these have not passed the law examinations in India, we are not so confident about their capacity. The Montagu-Chelmsford report recommended that the percentage of Indians to be appointed should be fixed at 33 in the first year and gradually increased by 1½ per cent a year until it becomes 48 and the Government of India say that this recommendation will be followed. If it is the intention of the Government to choose only the most efficient men, it is but fair that appointments should be made in the order of merit as indicated by the result of the examinations. The adoption of the percentage noted above will lead to Indians getting a high rank in the examinations losing the chance of selection, while others may be selected on the special ground of their being Europeans, even though their rank was low in the examinations. Is this British justice?

37. Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 30th November, says:--Forgetting our own strength, we have hitherto depended on others. We expected help from the bureaucracy, the Parliament, the Liberal party, the Labour Party, America and such other independent countries, and from the Peace Conference, but in vain. We have now begun to depend on our own strength. It will be ruinous to the country to go back in future. Colonel Wedgwood is not in favour of non-co-operation. But his opinion cannot change the attitude of the Indians. He attributes the non-co-operation movement to non-co.operation on the part of the authorities. He fears that non-co-operation of both the rulers and the ruled may lead to anarchy and confusion. . . There is no reason to suppose that when the Labour Party comes into power, they will grant SWARAJ at once. It is useless to ask the Indians to change their ~~power, they will grant SWARAJ at once. . . .~~ resolution placing faith in the good intentions of the Labour Party. He asks us to make a representation once again to the authorities and tells us that all parties should jointly demand the grant of self-government within a specified time. There can be no use of making any request unless the heart of the authorities has changed. If Colonel Wedgwood uses his influence and makes the Government to declare their intention, the people will then consider about what they should do. Otherwise the people will not agree to make requests again. The colonel gives hopes on his own responsibility that the Liberal and the Labour parties will help us. But when these parties could not render any help to Ireland which is closeby, we cannot hope that they will help India. His fear that the non-co-operation movement will lead to confusion, is due to his mistaking the movement for something like the Sinn Feign movement. In the former there is no intention whatever of doing any violence and no idea of vengeance as in the latter. . . The people have now seen

The help of others.

that they could attain SWARAJ by means of their ~~xxxxxxxxThe people have now~~ own strength, and that if they work with a firm mind, nobody can obstruct them. There is to be no physical violence in the endeavour to attain SWARAJ. If the Indians work with a singleness of purpose, taking the vow of harmlessness and truth, they are bound to win.

The Khilafat question

39. A correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 20th November, says under this heading:--The Allies have selfishly deprived the Sultan of Turkey of his control over the holy shrines of the Muhammadans. When his religious interests are at stake, no Muhammadan can be patient. . . When the Sultan is in trouble, the Muhammadans cannot keep idle. At a very critical time in the course of the late war, the Allies would have been defeated, had it not been for the timely help rendered by the Indian army. From an examination of the statutes on the matter, it will be seen that the Indian army should not be used in foreign wars. It was used notwithstanding and it contained many Muhammadans. They all fought against Turkey. Their loyalty has been highly commended and English statesmen recognised the need of the grant of SWARAJ to the Indians in return. At the time of the war, the Muhammadans were assured of non-interference with their religion. But the pledges then made have all been broken. Turkey having been divested of all her authority, now exists only in name. . . The seven crores of Muhammadans in India have been put to shame. It is not honourable for any nation to have created an occasion for the Sultan to give up his authority over the Muhammadan holy shrines. . . The present struggle is between Europe and ~~Mm~~ Asia. The white and the coloured races hate each other. Everywhere the coloured races are dependent. . . Unless SWARAJ is obtained, slavery will not disappear. Unless the latter disappears, the Khilafat question, or any other religious question, will not be solved. The time has come when everyone should honour of the country and that of the Muhammadan religion.

43. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 18th November, publishes a letter written by some students studying in the Pachaiappa's College, Presidency College, and Madrasa-i-Azam who as a result of 'Non-co-operation' discontinued their studies from their respective colleges. The letter is said to contain the following remarks among others:--. . . There is no use wavering without coming to any decision out of fear. If we do so, even for 30 years more, we can have no salvation from this servitude. It will become perpetual if we are indifferent in our youth and think of sacrifices only in our old age. Considering the present circumstances, we must resolve not to serve the Government but try to attain complete freedom in our own generation. . .

Madras students and non-co-operation

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48. Referring to the advice given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Maharaja of Bikanir with regard to the grant of self-government, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 2nd December, observes in a note:--The Viceroy is teaching the same method of slow progress in the matter of granting self-government, which he himself adopts, even to the heads of Native States. But the Indians will not agree to this policy of slow progress. They want speedy self-government. Whatever may be the Viceroy view, he himself knows the various hardships which the people are undergoing for want of self-government. . . There will not be much loss by the method of speedy progress and even if there be any we can soon set it right. For want of SWARAJ the Indian nation is declining. Wherever the Indian goes, he is not respected. There is nobody to pay any heed to the national wishes. Whatever humiliation he may meet with, there is no other alternative but to bear it. When the Indian nation has no life in it, of what use are the reforms? Whatever may be the advice of others, it is clear that India will become lively only by the speedy attainment of self-government. Indians should sacrifice their all for the realization of this end.

The advice of His Excellency the Viceroy

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49. Anent the criticisms levelled at Mr.Gandhi's views of SWARAJ by the moderate papers and by His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 2nd December, remarks in a note under this heading:--

The form of SWARAJ

The whole of the present-day civilization depends upon railways, machinery, lawyers, hospitals, etc. They are taken to be the chief items of SWARAJ. Those who do not possess them are boors. They are unfit for SWARAJ. They deserve to be ruled by others. Righteousness, truth, non-violence, etc., are not counted as important characteristics of SWARAJ. That is why the western countries are in a disturbed condition. In all places where their rule is extended, the people are discontented. India has nothing to do with such SWARAJ. Mr.Gandhi preaches that SWARAJ must be such as will help people in the discharge of their DHARMA. How can such words appeal to the Imperialists? How can the moderates, who follow their footsteps, understand the spirit underlying them?

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54. In a long leading article under this head-note, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd December, writing about the 'success of the resolution' of the Calcutta Special Congress and about the 'nominal representatives', that may form the new Councils, observes:--. . . The present struggle is not purely a political one. It is essentially connected with DHARMA. To conduct it, no better man can be found among the congressmen than Mr.Gandhi. He loves equally all nations, all countrymen, and all religionists. DHARMA and non-violence are his means. . . The present era is the era of Gandhi. This is not the time to remove him from the leadership. If that is done, the country will be ruined. It is owing to his leadership that the new movement is fast succeeding, treating the path of righteousness. . . It is therefore but right to co-operate with him for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ.

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Referring to the views expressed by Mr.C.R.Dass to the representative of the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA, the paper adds:-- There will not be much gain by Mr.Das advising the people not to pay the taxes, while he himself is not prepared to make any sacrifice. He is looking at the present movement only from a political point of view. We wish that all the nationalists should join together and help Mr.Gandhi in his non-co-operation movement in the coming Nagpur Congress.

The Parliament

55. Criticising the speech of Lord Selbourne delivered by him when he moved in the House the resolution about the New Reform rules, wherein he remarked that many falsehoods are current in India about the British administration and that due steps are not being taken by the Government of India to check them, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th December, observes in its leader under this heading:--. . . If Lord Selbourne could subject himself to self-examination, he could see his mistaken impression.. . If there is not at least some truth in them, Indians are not mad to believe them. . . The whole civilized world was grieved to hear of the inhuman acts in the Punjab. What has the House of Lords done with regard to General Dyer? They applauded his actions. Lord Selbourne is a member of this House and if we remember right, he is one of those who praised General Dyer's actions. . . It is clear that the Parliament is responsible for the present unhappy condition of India. While Lord Selbourne is one of those who have sown the seed of it, how can he avoid reaping the fruit thereof? When a critical time arose, the Parliament, which ought to have been wise, conducted itself irresponsibly. When the people have lost their confidence even in the Parliament, to whom are they to represent their grievances? The people could not but take to other possible methods. If even now the Parliament acknowledges the faults committed in the past and grants the wishes of the people, favourable conditions may arise. But there is no hope that the Parliament will do that. . . The

PIONEER publishes that Mr.Churchill has been appointed as the Viceroy. If this news is true, one can see how well the Parliament has understood its responsibility. Though he was a liberal like Lloyd George, he changed into an Imperialist like Lord Curzon, after coming into power. The methods which he adopted, greatly contributed to the unhappy state of affairs in Ireland, Persia and Mesopotamia. Instead of knowing his mistake and rectifying it, he recently gave utterance to the statement that there was a world-wide conspiracy against the British Empire. If this Mr.Churchill, with such queer ideas, should become the Viceroy we may well predict what may happen. He will not refrain from adopting severe repressive methods, and this will only make the situation more critical. If Lord Selbourne should make the Parliament near him, discharge its responsibilities better, everything will be set right. Without doing that, if he should abuse others, no good purpose will be served.

India: a new transformation

57. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th December, reports Mr. Bernard Houghton, I.C.S., to have written in the INDIA to the following effect, expressing his views in support of the non-co-operation movement:--. . . The Indians have discontinued their mendicant policy and are now standing on their rights. India tells England that if England does not grant SWARAJ India will compel her to do so, that she is not in the least afraid of the armies and machines of the English and that India will reach her goal by national unity. . . Non-co-operation will serve as the best institution for teaching Indians self-government. It is only in such an institution and not under the patronage of the authorities that the capacity to govern a people will be gained. Did the people in Rome, in the United States of America or in England gain it by cringing before the authorities? . . .

Genl

59. The NELLORE PATRIKA, of the 13th November raises the question as to how the non-co-operation movement should be viewed and observes as follows:--. . . It is not right that the lawyers should try to give legal opinions regarding non-co-operation movement. Nor is it right on the part of the Government to check the agitation by repression. . . What is the chief idea underlying this movement to which our attention should be specially directed. Is it intended to put an end to the British Government in our country, or is it adopted for making such changes in the Indian administration as would be profitable to us? If the movement is intended to achieve the first object, a complete programme of work shall have to be drawn for throwing the present Government into confusion and for stopping all movement of the machine of administration and arraggements made for replacing the present Government, soon after it is thrown out, by another popular Government. It is only such a movement that can be truly called a non-co-operative movement. It will become successful the very moment the people are ready to adopt the said methods. We do not therefore hesitate to say that the present programme of the movement cannot prove successful and is not conducive to the well-being of the country. If on the other hand it is intended merely to condemn the unjust acts of the Government there can be no need for such a movement.. .. . To refrain from paying the taxes is the chief means for the success of the 'non-co-operation' movement. There fore, so long as the people continue to pay the taxes, they should not make any effort to renounce their rights. . . No Indian will try to co-operate with the Government by getting into the Legislative Councils. . . The Reforms Act may be found to be useless by experience, but the programme of the present movement appears to be ineffective in every way. . . Even without adoptigg the movement of 'non-co-operation', we may establish national colleges in our country. The Civil Procedure Code itself gives facilities for the formation of panchayats. There is nobody to object to the establishment of

The true nature of the movement

such institutions.

62. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 4th December, in an English article, writes:--The Punjab Chamber of Commerce has forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi its opinion on the subject of the proper housing of the industrial classes. The Government of India consider that it is the duty of the Government and the Municipalities to provide sanitary houses for poor labourers. But it is a matter for great regret that it has become more a pious wish than a dominating principle. It is a pity that they advocate the adoption of benevolent principles and fight shy of them when the time for action comes.

The housing of labourers.

Housing the poor is not after all a very difficult undertaking. All poor people can be supplied with sanitary houses or sheds without a single penny's cost to Government. The first step in doing this is to convert all poor drones into bees. They must be provided with work, such work as they can do. The Government can raise loans for giving them houses and sheds according to their needs. There should be building committees in every town and village. The highest district and taluk authorities should exercise financial control over the committees. In cities, the Presidents of Municipalities can be made to exercise such authorities.

Loans may be advanced to all those who come forward to build own houses. Suitable sites may be given to them. Plans and estimates may be provided. Building materials such as bricks, tiles, chunam, timber, iron things; all can be supplied at cost price and money in cash may be given for the labourers. And the houses after construction can be held as mortgage with such collateral security as is possible, as a security for the loan and the loans with Savings Bank interested or with such interest as the Government itself pays in small instalments in 100 or 200 months. Patriotic gentlemen may be given facilities to build such houses and sell

them or rent them out. The recovery of the value of houses may be regulated either by the hire-purchase system, rent free-system or life insurance system. It is a pity that such ideas do not occur to those in authority and not do commend themselves ~~in~~ even in such a state. We invite all Governments to think over the matter dispassionately and see whether it is not possible to make the solution of the problem of housing the poor come within the range of practical politics."

66. Referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's significant and timely advice to the Yuvaraja of Jhodpur, the MALAYALI, of the 1st December, says:--In most Indian States the rulers being prompted by the idea that the subjects are their servants and the country is their own property, commit many silly and perverse actions. And some have the false notion that the subjects belong to the Raja and not the Raja to the subjects. The British Government are offering advice of this kind because they apprehend that Indian rulers conduct their administration in harmony with the progress of the world. There are many indications to show that the British people weigh out self-government to India to balance the conditions of the people of the Native States which form one-third of the whole of India. It is a pity indeed if such of the Indian rulers as do follow the ideals of the British Government, the lessons of European civilisation and the high aspirations of India, cannot become the ideal to other rulers.

Rulers ~~and~~ of Indian States

Genl

67. The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 29th November, has an article by Syed Ibrahim Ahmed of Lucknow on the marginally noted subject. He deals with the characters of the leaders of the community who have a fondness for English fashions, but are averse to the home-made article, and remarks that they themselves

Well-wishers of the Government and the non-co-operation Fiend.

NCS

do not practise non-co-operation, but encourage simple-minded Mussalmans to do so.

He next refers to the activities of Muslim leaders in educational circles, and regrets that there are not sufficient Muslim institutions in the country and even the existing ones are maintained solely by Government funds. Government aid was granted at the request of the community and not spontaneously. What is the meaning of this, bringing accusations against the Government, instead of being thankful for favours received?

The writer finally deals with the hypocritic behaviour of Hindus and remarks that as soon as they have attained their object they will desert the Mussalmans with whom they will say they have nothing to do.

The Fatwa of Moulana Ahmed Raza Khan Sahib of Bareilly

69. The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, in its issues of the 30th November and the 1st December, has a Fatwa or theological decision by Moulana Ahmed Raza Khan Sahib of Bareilly on the question whether it is lawful and right for Muslims to respect, support and follow polytheists which is to the effect that on the authority of the several texts quoted from the Holy Quran it is absolutely unlawful to do so.

Comml

A deplorable spectacle

70. The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 3rd December, has a letter from Moulana Ghani commenting on Mr.Gandhi's activities and the failure of his propaganda with regard to the boycotting of the council among Hindus, and remarks that Mahatma Gandhi's Mussalman devotees acted very unwisely in advising their co-religionists to abstain from voting or standing for election, while the Hindus themselves have taken the fullest advantage of the franchise.

NCS

72. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 1st December, referring to the information published in yesterday's Mount Road o journal (the MADRAS TIMES) that the Eastern Conference at Baku has decided to appoint the Amir of Afghanistan as Khalifa, remarks that it is always the practice with that paper to give out publicity to such extravagant ideas.

A dirty trick

Khil

Referring to the present situation in the Middle East, the writer observes that it was the duty of the Government of India to urge the British Government to abstain from making any pretext or acting treacherously on the present occasion, but to justly reverse the terms of the Turkish treaty. On the other hand, to take up the question of the Baku Conference and to ask Mussalmans whether they would agree to the proposal of appointing the Amir of Afghanistan as Khalifa is merely giving proof of their dishonesty.

Muhammadans consider such a proposal to be absurd and worthless, and we are sure ~~and~~ that it has been put forward by some mischievous correspondents in order to wound Muhammadan feelings, to create bad blood, and to sow the seeds of discord among them.

We may understand that no such proposal has been submitted to the Eastern Conference at Baku. We ask the Mount Road journal's correspondent where is the original Turkish report on the Baku Conference which contains the proposal to appoint the Amir of Afghanistan as Khalifa. This is an invention of some hypocritical Europeans. We neither believe nor credit it but that rather consider it to be a lying slander.

The writer, in conclusion, brings to the notice of the Government the fact that Muhammadans are diggusted with such behaviour, and suggests that this is not the time for appointing the Khalifa but rather for maintaining his Empire intact. If Britain is unaware of the present situat ionin Greece, Armenia and Italy and does not desire to win the hearts of the Muhammadans history will permanently record the fact that the time for the exercising of justice and wisdom came, but Britania closed her eyes.

For the week ending 18th December 1920

No. 51 of 1920

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The Government of India and non-co-operation

1. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, for the week ending 17th November (received on 17th December 1920), writes:--

"It is hard to imagine a more jejune production than the Government of India's latest on non-co-operation. It is wobbling, pure and simple, all through, and it is least calculated to arrest the mischief. If anything, it is a gratuitous assurance to the leaders of non-co-operation that the Government will, as hitherto, look on the game unconcerned till actual violence is resorted to by them. Not to leave the matter in any doubt the Government in their resolution say that they have instructed Local Governments to take action against those persons only who in furtherance of the movement have gone beyond the limits originally set by its organisers and have by speech or writing openly incited the public to violence or have attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the army or of the police. Even allowing this test to be a right one, can the Government honestly say that this test has been impartially applied in the case of those who are strenuously engaged in the non-co-operation propaganda? It does not require much courage to hook the smaller fry, allowing the bigger ones to escape. . . Another illogical position which the Government have taken up is that the police and the army are apart from the public. If the people of India are called upon to overthrow British rule or at any rate conceive a violent hatred towards it, it is not unlikely that the tenets would debauch the minds of the army and the police who are only a part of the public. The Government must be aware that the leaders of the movement have called British rule satanic and have openly declared that they can own no allegiance to such a rule. Will the Government plead that

such sentiments whether they are found in speeches or writings do not ~~pin their fai~~ amount x to an incitement to violence or disloyalty?. . . The Government pin their faith to what they call enlightened public opinion for the dissipation of the danger. It is difficult to know what they mean exactly by it. There have been expressions of public opinion against non-co-operation and there are not wanting organs of public opinion denouncing it as dangerous; but the non-co-operation propaganda has not stopped and the Aligarh debacle will show it has not. It is therefore idle to argue that the last resort for counteracting non-co-operation ~~propaganda has not stopped and the Aligarh d------~~ is enlightened public opinion. Even supposing that public opinion can be of some help in the matter, it does not absolve the Government from their responsibility of dealing effectively with a movement which they are never weary of denouncing as dangerous."

Shooting at the Buckingham Mills.

2. The HINDU, of the 11th December, writes:--"We publish to-day further accounts of the shooting at the Buckingham Mills and in spite of the laborious official explanation remain frankly unconvinced that there was any necessity h for emulating the unforgettable exploit of the hero of Jallianwalla. Government apparently rely on the fact that the atmosphere has been disturbed ever since the lock-out and that there have been sporadic cases of stone-throwing. It is absurd on the face of it however to pretend that a few instances of stone-throwing could be magnified into a conspiracy against law and order. That is the kind of logic that leads to massacres and the lesson of the Punjab is still, we should have thought, fresh in men's minds. We are afraid the new angle of vision must be as oblique as the old if Government are going to think every slight disturbance calls for a bath of blood or that every brick-bat must inevitably be answered by a bullet. This false conception of the latitude allowed to authority in the preservation of x order has always been repudiated in theory

but as invariably condoned in practice and from the mutiny to the Punjab tragedy Indian history teems with instances where force far in excess of the requirements has been used in the restoration of order. . . This readiness to fire upon unarmed crowds which the official communique seeks to condone and justify is in our opinion one of the most disquieting features of the present industrial situation. They suggest that the authorities are on the side of the present industrial situation. ~~They su~~ They suggest that the authorities are on the side of the capitalists and unless a radical change of the attitude is made and the confidence of labour in the impartiality of authority is restored, one shudders to think of what the future may have in store in the fight that it has begun for its rights. What the Government does not yet seem to have realised is that the masses are beginning to wake up and are asking for their rights and will take them, and will look askance at the cosy family parties so considerately provided by Mr.Montagu as India's first instalment of self-government. A change of heart on the part of those responsible for the preservation of law and order is therefore an urgent necessity for without it the estrangement bred of suspicion between labour and the State may become as acute and lead to situations as undesirable as in America."

Lord Willingdon's blunder.

3. Writing under this heading, NEW INDIA, of the 13th December, observes:--"It is , stated that on the 17th instant, when the new Government will be formed, three announcements of an important character will be made. If reports speak true, and everything that we know and hear confirms the rumour, then we have no hesitation in saying that all these decisions are grossly wrong and absolutely unjustifiable.

"The first of them relates to the creation of an Executive Council of four members--two Civilians and two non-officials and three Ministers with an army of Secretaries and Under Secretaries and others. We strongly protest against this expensive extravagant scheme. . . The second of the announcement is the

reported appointment of Mr.K.Srinivasa Ayyangar, Advocate-General, as Member of the Executive Council, the other Indian being Mr.Habibullah Sahib Bahadur. Mr.Ayyangar is the undoubted leader of the Bar, and in taking up the new place he would be sacrificing a good deal. But what we wish to impress upon the Government is that the choice of the incumbent should be based not upon extraneous considerations such as the amount of self-sacrifices which a candidate may undergo in accepting the place, or a desire to avoid a xm conflict with the JUSTICE people. . .If the above is a serious mistake, the third of the announcements that will be made on the 17th instant, regarding the constitution of the Ministry is, if what we hear is right, an indefensible blunder. It seems it has been decided that the three Ministers should be Messrs. A.Subbarayalu Reddiyar, fxmmx K.Venkata Reddiyar, and P.Ramarayaningar. In choosing the Ministry from one particular communal section, the Governor has wholly misconceived the situation, misread the election and misinterpreted the constitutional aspects of the case. . . The Governor's action is to the prejudice and efficiency of sound progress, contrary to the opinion of the country as expressed by the elections and in flagrant violation of the sound constitutional principles by which he should have been guided at the commencement of an era of power for the people. It is a most ill-advised step which will have far-reaching results, and if we are not misinformed, all these unhappy decisions are due as much to the unholy hymn of hate that has been preached so long, as to the influence of one of his colleagues from whom a better knowledge of constitutional principles and sounder appreciation of the features of the situation werex legitimately expected. His Excellency seems to have been preached so long, as to the influence of one of ~~the~~ his colleagues from whom a better knowledge of constitutional principles ~~princples~~ and sounder appreciation of the features of the situation were legitimately expected. His Excellency seems to hage fallen a prety intimidation and to clever but unscrupulous manoeuvre and we can only hope, for

his good name and in the best interests of this Presidency over which he rules, that he may yet retreat from a situation which is beset with such harm and confusion."

Lord Willingdon's nomination of Ministers

4. NEW INDIA, of the 14th December, writes:--"Lord Willingdon is inadvertently playing the role of the bureaucracy which first gave an impetus to the reactionary movement in Madras during the days of Lord Pentland. When the subject of constitutional changes was first mooted, the Civilians here played a noteworthy game and set up the non-Brahmana community to oppose the Reforms on the ground of India's unfitness. By clever manipulation of views, by unrighteous propaganda and indecent methods of agitation, anti-reform feeling was worked up resulting in the formation in the South Indian Liberal Federation. That at once provoked a reaction in the non-Brahmana community, and the efforts of the deluded creatures of the bureaucracy were baulked of their intended results. The electors in this Presidency have proved beyond all possibility of doubt of the metal that they are made of. They have shown that the JUSTICE people have no real following in the country. When such is the case, the Governor's reprehensible act in calling into power a party with a communal bias, with no political principles dividing them radically from other people, is one which is in its character on all fours with the attempts of the bureaucracy in the pre-reform days. How His Excellency missed this most obvious point passes our comprehension. . . What His Excellency ought to have done in the circumstances was to try and see whether he should not form a Ministry consisting of members from both the parties, who are guided by the same political principles and who have the same ideals in view. It is only by such a procedure that we can ever hope to discourage the developments of communal feeling, for at no time will there be a non Brahmana minority in the Council. As it is, His Excellency will commit a stupendous mistake if he finally agrees to truckle to the ULSTERITES--

the JUSTICE-wallahs who are in a minority--and hands over the fortunes of this Presidency to the insatiable appetite of Sir Edward Carson. It will not be difficult for His Excellency to conceive what the whole of Ireland will feel if Sir Edward Carson were to-morrow entrusted with the Government of Ireland!"

NEW INDIA, of the 15th December, has the following:--

"A Deep Laid Plot.

"Our respect and admiration for the qualities of head and heart of His Excellency Lord Willingdon notwithstanding, we must express our profound regret that he should have so easily allowed himself to be persuaded by his colleagues and the bureaucracy. Good intentions are a poor substitute for right and far-sighted decision. His Excellency, in the course of the deliberations that preceded the formation of his first Ministry and his first Executive Council under the new Reform Scheme, has shown an aspect of his character which many have suspected from the beginning, but for which there has been no unmistakable evidence forthcoming. We refer to his marvellous readiness to be guided, the tendency to be far too easily persuaded. He appears to have been as clay in the hands of his colleagues and permitted himself to agree to proposals based upon false analogies, perverted applications of British precedents and mischievous twisting us which we have of parliamentary and constitutional traditions. One explanation offers itself to us which we have to state in public interests, albeit it may look somewhat hard. The bureaucracy after having found that its efforts to check the tide of Reform had proved unavailing bided its time all along, silently preparing the way to somehow prevent the full realisation of the benefits which the Reforms are intended to give. It got what it could from the Secretary of State as compensation for its alleged loss of power and prestige and, in our own Presidency, the Governor was induced against all canons of economy, propriety and necessity to increase the number of prize posts. Having secured all this, it apparently agrued: would it not be a critical

capital stroke of Machivellian policy to turn its mind back to the objective which it had in the pre-Reform days and support by all means in its power the party of reaction which it had patronised, patted on the back and practically brought into being. The march of events during the last few days has been so inexplicably crooked, that it is difficult to believe that it is due to natural causes. This much we assert with confidence that the course events have taken cannot have been different, if the bureaucracy had intended to defeat the object of the Reforms. The unsatisfactory appointment to the Executive Council and deplorably reactionary Ministry formed go very much to strengthen the view taken above, much against our will and earlier convictions. We must also say that everything that we hear goes to support this opinion."

Madras appointments.

5. JUSTICE, of the 17th December, writes:--"Are we to be told that the policy of the Madras Government is that no high appointments should be conferred on non-Brahamans? It may be urged that the Ministers are all non-Brahmans. But the Ministers owe their position to the electorate. None can be a Minister who has not a majority behind him in the Legislative Council. The Governor may select his own men as Ministers; but if the Legislative Coundil does not back them up, they cease to be such. If, however, this is an argument we should like to know why so much consideration was not shown for over a decade towards the non-Brahmans not one of whom was thought of for any big job under the Government when Brahman after Brahman was promoted to high office. Justice is justice, Brahman or non-Brahman. We fail to see how on the present occasion as on the last three previous occasions, a Brahman was again elevated to the Executive Council. Can it be that non-Brahmans should not expect any high permanent appointment, but must always depend upon the electors for the best of them to get an opportunity to serve their brethren in any responsible office?

"This point becomes more obvious when we remember that Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar has been appointed the Advocate-General in succession to Mr.K.Srinivasa Ayyangar. The Executive Council membership and the Advocate-Generalship are both permanent appointments, and they have been conferred, as usual, on Brahman gentlemen; and coming after other high appointments which have of late been similarly bestowed upon Brahmans, we cannot but infer that the Madras Government have deliberately chosen to pursue a policy practically of exclusion of non-Brahmans. Generous, indulgenet and all heart they are when Brahman interests have to be recognised, but when the interests of the vast millions of this province for representation in the Government service are to be considered they adopt a different attitude. The Ministerships have come to the non-Brahmans by right of conquest: they have had to win those places by an arduous campaign among the electors unsupported by any influence, official or other, except the justice of their cause. Where are the non-Brahmans to day with respect to permanent appointments which, compared with Ministerships, are indeed a bed of roses? We do not think that the present policy of the Madras Government will be productive of good in the future. We may go further and say that with the Brahmans supreme in the Government and everywhere else where the Government could place them, to task of the non-Brahmans Ministers would be most difficult. We indeed sympathise with them and appeal to all non-Brahmans to gather round them and strengthen their hands."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the East Africa

7. Referring to the news received by the BOMBAY CHRONICLE about the resignation, by Aladina Vishram, of his seat on the Legislative Council of the East African Government, inasmuch as the latter are intent on crushing the Indians there, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th December, observes:--It appears the

Government have accepted the resignation and have resolved to keep the Indians down at any cost. There is little doubt that this news will pain the Indians much, especially when the condition of their brethren in the Fiji Islands is already causing them much anxiety. All this is due to the fact that India does not have SWARAJ. So, should not the Indians try to acquire SWARAJ soon? What other remedy have they?

Indians in East Africa

Referring to the hardships suffered by the Indians in the colonies and to the Indians in East Africa, having resorted to non-co-operation, unable to put up with them, the DESABHAKTA of the 10th December, observes:--Apart from the spread of the non-co-operation movement throughout the world indicating its divine nature, it is not known whether the Secretary of State for the Colonies is aware of the cause of our brethren in East Africa taking to non-co-operation. At this juncture we can only wish them success in their endeavours in this direction.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The visit of the Duke of Connaught.

20. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th December, quotes an extract from an article of Mr.Gandhi in his <u>Young India</u>, in which he, while suggesting that the people should completely boycott all public functions for honouring the Duke of Connaught during his ensuing visit, says:--He comes to India to support a Government that has taken to vicious ways. His object is to whitewash the mean actions of the irresponsible bureaucrats and to ask us to forget incidents which can never be forgotten. He does not come to heal our wounds. He steps in only to throw of disappointing reforms before us and dupe us.

India and the English Empire

23. Discussing in detail the constitution of the English Empire, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th December, refers to the old idea that English, Scotland and Ireland, which

alone send members to Parliament, have a higher status than the other countries comprised in the Empire having become exploded as a result of the war and to the opinion now prevailing that all the countries in the Empire have an equal status and that the colonies can be expected to remain linked with England hereafter only if they like and cannot be compelled to do so and writes:--The British statesmen have come to recognise the latter view only as a result of the war having demonstrated the fact that England cannot maintain her Imperial status for a moment without the colonies ~~of~~ and India. Even the colonies may not be able to defend themselves individually. So the countries within the Empire have been brought together for purposes of mutual help and not for one of them exercising control over another. This impression has been gaining strength since the Imperial conference of 1917 and it has been admitted by all statesmen that the constitution of the British countries should be so reformed as to enable them to have complete powers of self-determination. The decision come to by the above conference, that the right of India and the colonies to determine the foreign relations of the Empire should be conceded, is a practical admission that India has the same status in the Empire as the Colonies. The representatives of India have signed the peace treaty with those of England and the colonies. The British Government are bound, by their declaration of August 1917, to introduce men like Lord Esher and Lord Sydenham may think of postponing this to doomsday and continuing to utilise the Indians till then as a tool for soliciting their greed for territorial acquisition, we should compel England to keep her word and we can rely upon responsible British statesmen being bound by it. According to the interpretation of the declaration of 1917 by Professor Keith in the LONDON TIMES, India should have complete independence within ten years. If therefore the Government of India is to become subject to the Legislative Council within this period and India is to acquire the same status with the colonies, let us see what the position of India will be politically. The colonies have an equal

status with ~~kk~~ and not a subordinate one to England in the Empire. The question is whether India will have a similar position. Some may be pessimistic about this until the hatred of the colonials to the Indians is removed. But English statesmen have been assuring that they try to secure only this position for India. If so, it may be argued that the ideal of the Congress need not be the acquisition of Home Rule for India apart from the Empire. If her obtaining Home Rule is impeded by her being within the Empire, we may aim at its acquisition apart from the Empire. But no one venture to say that India cannot acquire Home Rule merely because she is within the Empire~~, we may aim at its acquisition apart from the Empire.~~ The efforts of India are hampered only on account of her occupying a lower status in the Empire and the Government of India not having any independent powers and not being responsible to the people, Mr.Bonar Law said that England would not aim one shot against Canada, if this country wishes to separate from the Empire. Similarly, if the Government of India are to announce to the world that India is an independent country the British Government should keep quiet. But the Government of India will not agree to do so under the present circumstances, and the Imperial Legislative Council has no power to compel them to do it. So, if the Council gets this power, the independence of India on the lines of the colonies may be secured. If, as a result of such an independence, it becomes necessary, on account of either the doings of the colonies or a difference in the enjoyment of equal privileges or other facilities we are likely to have, to separate from the empire, we can think about it then and decide. We hope the Congress will bestow deep thought on this subject and come to a decision.

Racial hatred.

24. In the course of a leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th December refers to the action taken by the Government of Burma against the editor and the publisher

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of the RANGOON MAIL for their having reproduced in their paper some extracts from papers in England and Bombay and observes:-- It has become usual for Governments in India from 1897 to charge editors and speakers for the offence of creating sedition and class hatred. But we should note that during all these twenty-three years it is only Indians that have been accused of such offences and that not one European has been booked therefor. Some may say that Indians alone can have a hatred against the English Government and not the Englishmen. But section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code contemplates not only hatred against Government but many other items, and the English papers have published numerous articles which will come under the latter. The article of the PIONEER appreciating the murder of Gossain in 1908 by Kanyalal Dutt and Satyendra Bose was not taken any notice of, evidently because its editor was an Englishman. When the capital of India was transferred to Delhi, the English papers in India poured any amount of invective against the Government of Lord Hardinge and against Lord Crewe and no action was taken against them. But, if the Indians utter a word rather forcibly, the Government bring them to trial unhesitatingly. Though incapable of understanding clearly the meaning of vernacular words used by Indians, it is English Judges and Juries that have been trying the offences alleged to be committed by Indians and inflicting severe punishments on them. Numerous Indians have been so tried and punished for the offence of promoting racial hatred. But can any number of articles by Indians create as much racial hatred as the actions of Dyer and his agents? News has been received that, out of the large amount collected for the Dyer Fund, the Europeans in India have contributed £9,390. This is the reward paid to a wretch, who mercilessly killed innocent Indians, by the Englishmen who are still eating the salt of India! Will this create racial hatred or the articles of the Indians? Not one who has contributed to this fund is going to be charged, much less to be punished. If the Government want to prevent

the growth of racial hatred, they should not try persons for an offence like the one under inquiry in Burma, but should understand clearly the root cause of the discontent of the people and remove it. For aught we know, friendship and union cannot exist between the Englishmen and Indians in India as long as the latter do not acquire Home Rule. The Indians are the sons of the soil while the Englishmen are foreigners and it is foolishness to expect the Indians to acquiesce in their being deprived of all power and influence in the country and the Englishmen exercising them. As long as political knowledge did not spread among the people, their discontent did not become patent. But the people have, within the last twenty to thirty years, come to have a clear idea of their rights and duties and they will no longer put up with their being treated as slaves in their own country. So Englishmen can get rid of the racial differences and misunderstandings in this country only if they grant true Home Rule to the people and avoid injuring their ~~xxxxx~~ sense of self-respect. If instead of this, editors and speakers who point out facts are charged, they may be suppressed for some time; but it will only increase and not decrease misunderstandings.

Colonel Wedgwood and Indian administration

25. Referring to the charge of creating class hatred brought by the ENGLISHMAN against Colonel Wedgwood, who is reported to have stated in his address to the labourers in Calcutta, that they should not depend on any Government but rely upon their self-help and also to the reply of Colonel Wedgwood thereto that, as the Government in India is being looked upon as divine, it is deemed to be an offence to point out its defects, and that it is his wish to root out from the minds of the Indians the slavish idea of cringing before the authorities for seeking their favour, even if they should have Home Rule, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th December, observes:-- We wish every Britisher notes these words. It is foolish on the part of the Indians to wait until the British should

grant them SWARAJ. It should be acquired by means of their own endeavours and incessant sacrifice. No free country in the world was granted freedom by others. While history proves this by numerous instances, it indicates only the slavish feeling of India that some of the Indians alone should believe that their salvation lies in the hands of foreigners. Need we say that it is the alien rule again that is the cause of such a feeling?

Colonel Wedgwood.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 4th December, referring to the fear expressed by Colonel Wedgwood that the non-co-operation movement may end in anarchy and bloodshed, remarks as follows:--He has not been able to see that it is this movement that has prevented such mishap. He still recommends some methods of compromise. It is strange that it has not struck him that it was want of confidence of the people in the promises of the authorities that led to the starting of the non-co-operation movement.

Colonel Wedgwood

Anent the remark made by Colonel Wedgwood that "the western civilisation is based upon injustice' and the indignation of the MORNING POST over that observation, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th December, writes:--If any Englishman speak a little impartially, they become the object of the censure of the pro-Government (party).

The Nagpur Congress.

28. Asserting that the ensuing Congress at Nagpur is held at a time when two ages meet, inasmuch as the views of the people and the Government are now at variance, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th December, writes:--For the past two or three years, the political spirit of the people has been developing very fast and the rapidity of its development has been wonderful since the Jallianwalla massacre. The people have clearly laid down their aspiration. It is the acquisition of complete SWARAJ immediately. Some may ask why, if this is true, even 25 per cent of the voters exercised their franchise at the last

elections. It will be obvious to every impartial observer that it is the Hindu-Moslem rivalry in some parts of Northern South India, but not the people's desire for the new reforms that has led to this. This ordinary people--those whose minds have not been prejudiced by racial and religious hatred--never cared for these elections. They stand firm for liberty alone. The Government are, on the other hand, making much of these reforms and they have decided that this situation should continue for another ten years. While the Government and the people are thus holding different views and each party is not only obstinate in clinging to its views but is also bent upon continuing that attitude, there is little doubt that the political atmosphere in the country will become hotter still. It will be the heartfelt prayer of every patriot that this fury should subside as a result of efforts made in peaceful ways and that SWARAJ should be granted to the country; because, if it does not subside, riots and disturbances may occur, leading to a political revolution. To avert such a state of affairs is the only object of those who have a love for this race. But the Government and some of the patriots do not view the situationin this light. The Government think that the machinery of the reforms will run smoothly but for the mischief of certain agitators and are adopting repressive measures here and there. At this juncture a grand duty devolves on those patriots who follow the views of the Calcutta Congress. It is only they that have correctly gauged the present attitude of the public. It behoves them now to voice forth peacefully, but unreservedly and without any fear or favour, the aspirations of the country and persuade the Government to satisfy them. If the stages of non-co-operation wishes of the people. Attempts are reported to be made to bring to the Nagpur session persons who are against the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress. If this happens, and the force of the old resolutions is allowed to flag, the Congress will be reduced to the position it occupied between 1908 and 1915 and will fail to indicate correctly the political feeling

in the country. Then it will become easy for the Government to say that immediate SWARAJ is not the aim of the people and harass the followers of non-co-operation, who press for the grant of SWARAJ soon. But if, instead of this, the patriots supporting the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress attend the Nagpur ~~x~~ session in large numbers and get even stronger resolutions passed therein, the GOVERNMENT ~~x~~ will understand the attitude of the people aright and come to terms. Even if they do not do so at once, these resolutions will infuse strength of mind in the people and prepare them for sacrifice, and the Government will surely yield when they see that the people are firm and ~~xx~~ unbending.

The Nagpur Congress

Referring to the work before the coming Nagpur Congress, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 9th December, observes in its leader:--. . . Never before in the history of the Congress was there such an awakening in the people. The reasons for this are manifold. The country had, never before, been in such a critical state. The successive flouting of the wishes in the peoplex ~~-The-reasons-for-this-are-manifold.--The-country had,-never-before,-been-in-such-a-critical-state.--The-xxx one-of~~ and the passing of repressive Acts one after another created a sense of disappointment in the people. When they were at a loss to find a way out of this situation, the message of Mr.Gandhi created new hopes in them. . . The spirit underlying the message of Mr.Gandhi is being examined by many intelligent people in the western civilisation. . . Even the Christain Missionaries are writing eulogising the work of Mr.Gandhi. . . If we look at the history of the Congress, in its first stage, we find that the whole ~~fxx~~ of the period was characterised by humble Memorials submitted to the authorities for the grant of small reforms. This attitude of mind killed all self-confidence. Colonel Wedgwood therefore asks the people to depend upon self-help. The new movement is trying to achieve that very end. It is regrettable that even the HINDU has not understood the philosophy of this movement when it remarks that the

nationalists ought to have gone into the councils to prevent the Governor from misusing the powers given to him as regards the appointment of ~~self-government in one year~~. They know that if they waste their time in pleasantry in the Legislative Councils, their wishes will not be fulfilles. . . In the second stage, swaraj was kept as an ideal; and in the third, a regular programme of self-government was prepared and sent. In the recent Special Congress meeting it was resolved that dependence upon others for its attainment was of no use and that the people should reach their goal by the manifestation of their own competency. This created an unprecedented awakening in the country. India is now going to enter upon a new age. The Congress resolution proved successful in all directions. . . . The future is full of hope. . . . Under such conditions the Congress is meeting at Nagpur. A new topic will be discussed thereat. By SWARAJ, leaders meant hitherto, the self-government obtaining in the colonies. That idea is now changing and they mean by it now, 'one which is shaped according to the Indian civilisation and customs and is determined by the people themselves'. . . . The present problem is based on DHARMA and no better man can be found to guide this movement than Mr. Gandhi at the present juncture.

We hope the ANDHRAS will attend the Congress in large numbers and help Mr.Gandhi's movement.

Repression in India

29. Referring to several units of Khilifat Volunteer Corps in Delhi having been declared to be unlawful by the Government of Delhi and their having applied the Seditious Meetings Act to the province, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th December, remarks that the fact of the authorities resorting to repression, when the effect of their repressive policy of the last year is still felt by them, only betrays their love for power and adds that these repressions will only serve to bring the people nearer to their goal of SWARAJ.

Commenting on the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th December, observes that the people in India are often reminded that they cannot have any privileges unless it be by the favour of the bureaucracy and adds:--India Act XXIV of 1908 was passed in view of the agitation in Bengal and the murder of one or two Europeans by anarchist associations and after the suppression of a few SAMITIS by means of this Act in that year, it was not enforced. Our moderate friends assured us that this law had been a dead letter on the statute book all these twelve years. But it is needless to say that in India, repressive laws are as effective as ever, however old they may be. An association becomes unlawful under this Act if it is proved in a Court of Law that the association ~~becomes unlawful under this Act if it is proved~~ or its members habitually commit acts of violence or if it is declared to be such by the Governor-General. As the latter is an easy method, the Government of Delhi have declared certain bodies to be unlawful. As the power of declaring any society to be an unlawful one has been delegated by the Governor-General under an Act of 1920 to the Provincial Governments, the authorities can nip the activities of a body in the bud, if it started an agitation against a particular piece of legislation deeming it to be an undesirable one. If the people agitate for amending any Act, they may be deemed to have stood in the way of the administration of that Act, and any movement may be declared to be dangerous to ~~put~~ public peace and its leaders suppressed. Law giving such powers to the authorities have been enacted in India. But the people often sleep under the belief that such laws will not be enforced and the little liberty left will not be wrested from them. As the Government desisted from applying this Act and curbing the agitation of the SATYAGRAHA committees against the Rowlatt Act, as they might have done, it appeared to many that the Government had no intention of applying it. But the Commissioner of Delhi has begun to crush several societies under the powers given to him by the Act. As this has been done with the previous sanction of the Government of India,

it looks as if they are determined to crush the agitation of the people by freely enforcing all the Acts that were shelved in corners till now. The Nagpur Congress should consider with foresight and courage about the means whereby the people can gain independence by controlling a Government that can wrest people's liberties as they like.

Referring to the action of the authorities in Delhi and generalising that the bureaucrats seem to be intent on making another Ireland of India, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th December, writes:--We thought that Lord Chelmsford would not earn a bad name afresh at least on the eve of his departure from this country. We were confident that the members of the Government of India too would not tolerate such measures as would falsify their honeyed, words, at a time when the Reforms Act, which aims at opening the door of liberty for us and ushering a new era, is to be brought into force. But "can the Ethiopian change his skin and the leopard his spots?" In this country the Indians have no liberty. We are free to do whatever is not objected to by the bureaucrats. But when once they prohibit a particular act, all our rights in that respect fly to the winds! This is no exaggeration but the plain truth. If we we have liberty, apart from other things, we should have the right of free speech regardless of time, subject and place, and we should have ~~the right of~~ undisputed right to form and conduct associations, the Government being empowered to punish us only when we act unrighteously. But now none can open his lips in Delhi without the sanction of the head of the Police and all members of the societies specified in the order of the Commissioner of Delhi become offenders at once. While the whole world has secured the liberty of man by means of a severe war, in which human blood was shed and money spent without any limit, in India alone the Government are struggling, unwilling to come out of the dark age. They try to do away with ordinary rights at their will. If the people quietly look on now, they will become perpetual slaves; because who can guarantee that the Government, who have today declared certain

organisations in Delhi to be unlawful, will not extend that definition tomorrow to the Khilafat Committee, the Congress, the Home Rule League and even religious gatherings? Does the Indian race agree to be in such a plight? Is a situation, in which all their rights are liable to be crushed at the will of a Commissioner, a Collector, or a Police official, palatable to the Indians? Does this great race countenance their grand appearance being sullied by these fetters? Never. Therefore the whole race should raise a strong agitation to break through such obstacles. But this is not enough. If the order of the Commissioner of Delhi is to be annulled, every one should become a member of the societies which have unjustly been declared to be unlawful. It is enough even if the people in Delhi do so. That order cannot stand for a single moment. But this question pertains, not to the people of Delhi alone, but to all. So it behoves the whole race to combine and agitate and see that our natural rights are safeguarded at least hereafter.

The Police and the labourers

31. Remarking that it is no easy task to manage thousands of labourers and that it is hard to find labourers being paid as liberally as they are in the Buckingham mills, the HINDU NESAN, of the 11th December, refers to the shooting of the labourers recently by the Police on account of the former having ~~pelte~~ pelted stones at the latter while they were escorting the new hands working in the mills and observes:--We regret that the labourers suffer by acting on the superficial advice of some irresponsible persons given regardless of consequences. Though the recent incident will make every one shudder, the Police behaved with great patience and it cannot be said that if the Police had refrained from using their rifles, they would not have been hemmed in by the crowd. It is to be noted here that the labourers who were taken from the harbour to the mills on the 10th instant were not molested in any way.

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Referring to this incident the DESABHAKTA", of the 11th December says:--Fire should be opened only when serious loss to

property is imminent. It should not be done either for terrorising the people or for any other minor purpose. Further, great care should be taken in respect of unarmed persons. Even judging from the Government communique there does not seem to have been any great necessity for the opening of fire by the Police. We wish to ask, in this connexion, whether the Police in England would have acted similarly at such a juncture. The communique admits that peace has been restored after the use of fire-arms by the Police. While so, what was the necessity for troops with a gun carriage marching round the premises of the mills on the next day? Is it to strike terror in the minds of the people?

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th December, also refers to the communique of the Government on this subject and observes:-- We think the Government have published the communique relying only on the version of the Police officials who permitted the opening of fire. Another communique issued by the Publicity Bureau says that the Police used their rifles to protect themselves from being crushed wholesale, on account of the severe volley of stones aimed at the motor lorries; but this fact is not mentioned in the Government communique. Even in mentioning about the second round of firing, it is not stated that the situation was such as to indicate danger to the lives of the Police. This communique evidently contains only incomplete particulars. Further, it is usual in England, when fire is opened on a crowd on a necessity having arisen therefor, to appoint at once an impartial committee to investigate into the affair and publish a report and especially in the Madras Presidency, to open fire at crowds without fully observing the laws and regulations on the subject in force in England and India. No report has been published either in regard to the Police shooting in Madura last year or in parungavanallur this year; nor has it been stated that the shooting was in accordance with the rules. If Lord Willingdon does not make arrangements for an immediate inquiry about the shooting connected with the

Buckingham mills, the public would be forced to infer that he is allowing the officials to act as they like.

32. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th December, writes:--The elections are over and members have been found for the Legislative Council. It is true some of them have patriotism and worldly knowledge of matters. But the majority are such as have not interfered in politics till now or cannot do so hereafter on account of lack of education and political knowledge. Considering the number of people that have voted and the opinion of those that have not, no impartial man will deem the majority of those elected to be the representatives of the people. Mr.Gandhi now says that the people should not seek any help of those now elected to the council; but the SWADESAMITRAN, objects to it. Suppose a zamindar has misappropriated all the property of a neighbour and the latter has become very poor even his men taking service under the former. Suppose again the afflicted zamindar proceeds to court against the usurper and just at this juncture the latter offers to give the former a small piece of land and promises to secure him some advantages through his own men. Will it be honourable under these circumstances on the part of the evicted zamindar to accept the small concessions offered? If that is not honourable it cannot be honourable for us to accept any help at the hands of the present advice to mean that the people should not resort to a hospital established by the aid of hospitals at emergencies. But we would ask them to get themselves treated by Ayurvedic doctors instead of going to hospitals aided by Government. As the Country is frequently afflicted by the plague only, because there is not sustenance enough to the people, we would ask the latter to try to prevent the occurrence of plague by acquriring SWARAJ immediately which is the only way by which we can retain in our own country the grains produced here. The Congress has been crying hoarse for the last 35 years against the increase of taxtation. It has not been of any avail. The English Govern-

The New Legislative Council

ment will never refrain from increasing the taxes because the members of the Legislative Council are against it. If they had cared for the legitimate arguments of these members, would not a remedy have been sought by this time for the Punjab massacre and other unjust acts? Even if the Government should refrain from enhancing the taxes, it will not be in view of the arguments of the members but only in view to abate in a way the agitation of the people for SWARAJ by offering a bait. It is for the people themselves to consider whether it will be wise on their part to secure the very power of imposing taxes by acquiring complete SWARAJ very soon or to give up the principle of non-co-operation in view of the meagre advantages that may be expected and thereby postpone the day of the acquisition of SWARAJ. We can boldly assert that the people will not be afraid of the paltry objections raised. If SWARAJ is to be obtained soon, not only these obstacles but even more serious ones will have to be faced. India is prepared for any sacrifice at this stage and she will not give up her main ideal in order to escape small difficulties. So we will predict that our race will choose only the royal road of non-co-operation, avoiding all crooked paths and, cheerfully putting up with all unjust hardships in order to gain the road, end, acquire SWARAJ soon and an equal status with other races.

Government's disappointment.

40. Referring to the Government's appeal to the moderates regarding the 'non-co-operation' movement, and the reply given to it by the moderates, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 20th November, observes in its leader under this heading:--What a pity! While they proposed in one way, God disposed of it in another way. The Government thought that the moderates would do as they wished with delight. Though the moderates have been hindering the progress of the country, they cannot go against the times. The virtues of the nationalists were able to turn the moderates into the right path. . . At least, the reply given by the moderates, we hope, will make the Government

understand their mistakes. The aspirations of both the nationalists and the moderates are the same. The only difference between them is that the latter have not the ncessary steadiness of mind to give expression to their settled opinions. From the very beginning, the nationalists have been asking the Government to redress their grievances with regard to the Punjab disorders and the Khilafat, to repeal all repressive legislation, and to co-operate with the people. Now the moderates also have stated in their reply, that instead of asking them to stem the tide of non-co-operation, if the Government itself repeals all repressive Acts and gives up bureaucratic methods of administration and acts justly as regards the Punjab and other affairs, peace can be restored in the country permanently. It will be well if the Government understand the real situation and refrain from imprisoning the non-co-operation propagandists or prohibiting popular meetings. It should once again grant freedom of speech and of the Press. . . The people cannot bear the humiliation of being asked to forget the Punjab affairs, while repressive laws are simultaneously introduced in the same locality. There must be a limit for anything. . . Virtue must triumph. We, therefore, wish that the Government may give up its mistrust and maintain its prestige by administering the country, wishing well for all.

Mr.Curtis jugglery

42. Adverting to the publication of a book entitled 'Diarchy' written by Mr.Lionel Curtis, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th December, observes:--It is stated that diarchy is the best form of Government for India. Of course when self-government is not granted to the Indians, diarchy will be the best system of Government possible. The Indians ought not to possess the right of governing themselves; the bureaucracy is not to forego any of its privileges. There must however be a show of it all--of a cabinet, of a President, of transferred and reserved subjects, etc. It is only diarchy that can admit of all this pomp. This system of diarchy is not found in the

history of any other country. The question that had to be answered by the rulers was whether self-government was or was not to be granted to the people. They had not therefore the need to find a method by which self-government was both given and not not given to them. . . Mr.Curtis commends the officers belonging to the civil service for accepting the Reforms without opposition. The Indians may also sympathise with them; for their salaries have been abnormally raised, and their pensions have also been increased. . . Further, the Ministers may happen to be directed by the said officers. The former cannot admonish the latter in whatever way they may behave. Under such circumstances it is but natural for the officers of the Civil Service to feel still more gratified. . . Mr.Curtis is aware that the people are not deceived by the show of Reforms. . . He recommends that such Europeans as insult the Indians should be sent away from India. What have they done with Mr.Dyer. The murderer was adored like an angel. . . How can it be possible to believe that Europeans with such odd notions will help the Indians in developing self-government under a system of diarchy. . . The events in the Punjab will show how far diarchy will succeed. Even THE NATION has recognised the change that has come about in the angle of vision of the people. It observes that the adoption of a policy that has estranged His Highness the Aga Khan and enraged Mr.Gandhi can only create Sinn Feinism in India and that the right of self-government granted to Egypt cannot but be granted soon to India and Ireland and that if in the meantime the Indian armies are employed to gratify Lord Churchill and Lord Curzon, the British will not only cause a breach of peace in the East but will also bring about the disruption of the Empire. Whatever may be the opinion of others, India is determined on obtaining SWARAJ. If the Indians, with a devotion to DHARMA, set to work they will surely get SWARAJ within a year.

44. Referring to the speech of the Lord Willingdon on the subject of non-co-operation, the BALABHARATI, of the 21st October, says:--Any movement started on behalf of the people will ordinarily appear to the Government as unconstitutional and seditious. It is natural that a Government wishing to exercise arbitrary authority will look upon any criticism of the people or any desire for freedom on their party with disfavour. That Lord Willingdon played second fiddle to Lord Chelmsford is due to the official position he holds and not to any other cause. The people should not therefore regard the opinions he expressed as his own. Everybody should admit that the Government exists for the people and not the people for the Government. Co-operation by the people depends on the righteousness of the Government and the good that they do to the people in return. In the opinion of Mr.Gandhi, when the Government swerve from that standard, it is the duty of the people to refuse co-operation in order to set them right. There is no meaning in saying that the Government are righteous in view of the fact that they failed to bring the offenders in the Punjab massacre to book. The authorties have not kept to their word in the matter of the Khilafat. Leaders like Muhammad Ali confirm the rumour that if the British had persisted at the Peace Conference, they would have succeeded in solving the Khilafat question to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans. His Excellency the Viceroy once said to Mr.Gandhi that the rule of the British is maintained by the sword. Last year this principle was translated into action in the Punjab. The Government have not tried to remove the stain caused by the Punjab tragedy. Under such circumstances, non-co-operation has been resorted to by the people and we believe that this unconstitutional and loyal so long as it is non-violent. . . It does not aim at removing the Government. If by any acts of repression by the Government, the movement turns out to be violent, the responsibility will lie with the Government. The

Non-co-operation

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people have seen the futility of the mendicant policy and adopted the policy of non-co-operation as their last resort. Obstacles will only add strength to it. The only remedy for the present situation is for the British to grant the wishes of the people and base their rule on love and not brute force.

The paper gives an extract from the speech of the President of the Bhimavaram Talu Special Conference in which he, in exhorting the people to adopt non-co-operation, is reported to have said that the authorities have made slaves of the Indians and to have observed as follows:--Which Indian will be willing to be loyal to such a rule? We need no more place faith in the British Government. There is no use of speeches and agitations any more. . . If you refrain from voting, we believe that in two months we can secure half of the freedom we are desiring.

The HITAKARINI, ofthe 29th November, writing on non-co-operation, says:--It does not appear that the educated classes in our town will refrain from voting. They labour under an illusion and argue selfishly while the middle classes are showing wisdom born of experience. From this it is plain that it is the present day education that has deprived men of their power to perceive what is good and honourable.

The paper then refers to the small percentage of voters that have given their votes in other provinces and says:-- From this, it will be plain how far the reforms are satisfactory. Will the Government carry out the amendments suggested by popular leaders or following the advice of the advocates of co-operation, tread the path of repression? From what they have done recently, the rulers appear to follow the way of the bureaucrats who are blinded by authority. Still it is our duty to warn the Government. The vow of Indians cannot be understood by the westerners. It will not fear imprisonment or the cannon. It will not yield to the injuries caused by aeroplanes. It will not stop till success is in hand. Responsibility lies with the rulers only.

Writing under the heading of 'Non-co-operation' the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 13th December, writes:--The auto

Non-co-operation

cracy of the authorities reached its zenith during the Punjab disorders, and the Hunter Committee came to the conslusion that Dyer and such other British officers who were involved therein were more autocratic than even Tamurlane and Nadir Shah. In spite of this, such men got honours instead of punishment. The world then realized that the British people had lost all their righteous instincts, and our people felt that they should under no circumstances co-operate with, or even talk to, the murderers of our innocent women and children. All these ~~xmjmx~~ iniquities have given birth to the non-co-operation movement of Mr.Gandhi which the people have warmly welcomed as right and proper. The only way to put down the movement of non-co-operation is to remove the root-cause thereof. How can the danger to the Empire be avoided, if guilty men of the type of Dyer are considered more important than the Empire itself? The punishment of the wicked is even more essential than the protection of the righteous. It is the opinion of many that the foundation of the British Empire will be made stronger not by inflicting punishment upon the non-co-operators but by punishing those that were mainly instrumental in bringing about non-co-operation.

Repressive policy.

48. In a note under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th December, writes:--

The authorities seem to know only two methods of action when a new movement is started. first to treat it with indifference and then to try to suppress it when it appears to be developing. Ordinarily they do not try to understand and remove the real cause. Just the same policy is now being adopted with regard to the non-co-operation movement. . . Having viewed the movement with contempt all this time, they have now adopted repression to put it down. But they do not try to relieve the distress of the people. In Delhi and the Punjab methods of repression have been introduced. To other provinces also, they may be extended. If the people have the necessary self-control and take

the vow of non-violence and tread the path of DHRAMA, their wishes will soon be fulfilled. India has to pass through an ordeal in the coming days. Time alone will show how she is going to acquit herself.

Self-help

49. Referring to the many public works constructed at the expense of the ryots in the Bhimavaram taluk, which amounted to Rs.16,100 for the fasli 1329, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th December, observes in a note under this heading:-- . . . The country has, hitherto, been in an illusion. In fact the people are maintaining their own educational institutions and bearing the whole expenditure of the administration Still, not knowing their own capabilities, they are overtaken by illusion. If they are resolute, they can establish national schools and panchayat courts and protect native industries. They can even win SWARAJ before long.

The observance of SATYAGRAHA

50. Referring to the change that has come over the definition of 'sedition' in the light of the changed conditions now existing, such as, the decision of the Calcutta High Court declaring that a desire for SWARAJ is not seditious, the admission of India as a member of the League of Nations, the grant of independence to Egypt by the English themselves, and the condemnation of the injustice done to India by a member of Parliament himself like Colonel Wedgwood, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 11th December, observes in its leader under this heading:-- . . . The authorities have not left off their old ideas and are inciting fear as before. . . Mr.B.S.Gupta has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment under the 'security section' for lecturing on non-co-operation. If it was the Magistrate's opinion that his lecturing would disturb the peace, there was sufficient time for him to see the results thereof. The festivities of giving votes have passed away. Peace was no where disturbed nor was their any sign of popular excitement.

What puppose does the punishment then serve? . .. Then the society feels an abhorrence for the man punished, only then will the punishment be effective. If on the other hand the man punished is viewed with greater respect bythe people not only will there be nothing gained but there will be positive loss by his punishment. However much the conditions in the country may change, the opinions of the authorities undergo no change. They do not recognise the change of ideas in the people. The new movement is one of DHARMA. The more it is sough to be repressed, the more will it develop. If the people tread the path of righteousness and truth and take the vow of non-violence, repression will only lead on to the speedy attainment of SWARAJ. . . The sooner the authorities learn this fact the better it is for the rulers as well as the ruled. The ANDHRA country is, at this time, setting an example to the whole of India, as regards the observance of SATYAVRATHA.

Buckingham Mill disturbances

51. Referring to the action of the police in firing on the Buckingham Mill coolies and the communique issued by the Government thereon, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 11th December, observes in a note:--. . . We do not know what necessity there was for opening fire on these coolies. Is there no other method of dispersing the crowd? There cannot be more harmless people throughout the whole world than the Madrasees. It is very easy to subdue them. While the atrocities committed by General Dyer are still vivid before the eyes of the people, what can we say of the repetition of such acts? . . . Even the communique issued by the Government justifying the acts of the police does not say that any warning was given to the people. . . It cannot but appear horrible to fire on people and cause loss of life without giving them any warning. The people cannot have confidence in a communique which has been issued without inquiring allthe parties concerned. . . It looks improper that the Police should help one party in labour disputes. The incidents in question help only to make

the relation between the capitalists and the labourers more strained. . . The HINDU XXXX suggests that an Inquiry Committee should be formed. We shall suppose that such Inquiry Committee declares that the firing is illegal. What is to be done next ? The HINDU Must answer this question. Even after the Enquiry Committee sat and reported on the Punjab affairs, no justice was done. Mr.Gandhi therefore preached non-co-operation. The HINDU is still vacillating. How are we to prevent the lives of the Indians being treated as so very trivial. How is a recurrence of such troubles to be prevented? Mere resolutions will be little avail. Until permanent remedies are adopted, we cannot enamoured of the Legislative Councils try to find out in what despicable condition the people are? Whether the authorities are the white people or the black it matters not so long as the system of administration does not change. It remains to be seen whether now at least the residents of Madras will wake up from their slumbers and protect their birthrights.

The Congress propaganda

52. The VENKATESAPATRIKA, writes under this heading in its issues of the 6th and 13th November:--Everywhere in the British Empire, the Indians are treated like dogs and the British Government have approved of this. In the East Africa, the British Government themselves treat the Indians with dishonour. A great distinction is observed even in India between the English and the Indians. In cases in which Indians died having been beaten by Europeans, not even one of the accused has been sentenced to death. An examination of punishments meted out to Indians for assaulting the English will make the distinction made between the two nations plain. In the Punjab, the English have openly stated that their lives are more valuable than those of the Indians. A perusal of the reforms rules will show that the Legislative Councils have no authority to mend such evils. When the candidates say that the Legislative Councils have got such authority, they speak

a lie. They, of course, have full authority to pass laws as dictated by the Government and get titles and salaries. We cannot get SWARAJ even after a ten years' course in the Councils. We will be promoted to a higher class as in a school. The stages are innumerable and SWARAJ has to be got step by step. . . . His Excellency the Viceroy has directed the provincial Governments to take steps to suppress non-co-operation only when it is accompanied by violence. So, all patriots may adopt non-co-operation without fear.

55. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th December, writes under this heading:--It is said that Mr.Lloyd George has asked

Labour embassy

the Labour representatives proceeding to Ireland to see if there can be any possibility of a compromise. Similarly Colonel Wedgwood and Mr.Ben Spoor might have come to India to bring about a reconciliation between the Indians and the Government. We do not know if Mr.Montagu sent them with any message. We do not mean to despise bona fide efforts of the Labour party. Whether in India or in Ireland, if an agreement is to be arrived at permanently, there is no other way of effecting it than the grant of SWARAJ.

MR Lal

56. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 27th November, gives in Telugu the speech delivered by Mr.Gandhi in Benares on

Gandhi's speech

the 26th giving advice to the students, wherein he exhorted them to adopt non-co-operation and remarked that (the establishment) of the new Legislative Councils is one of the many tricks adopted by the Government to perpetuate the slavery of the Indians, that the Arabs wanted nothing but independence and were ready to die and that the Indian students should learn their duty from the Arabs.

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59. In its leader under this heading, the VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 13th November (received on the 26th), compares the treatment of the Indians in East Africa with that of the Panchamas in this country and observes:--Indians are everywhere treated meanly like slaves. It is highly unjust that it should be so in the British Empire. It is regrettable that Britain which has acquired and extended her territories sacrificing the lives and the wealth of the Indians, should keep them, at last in the position of Panchamas. . . East Africa has been improved by the Indians. But the Indians there are not fit to sit in a hackney jinrikisha wherein a European sat before. They should not get into a railway carriage in which Europeans sit, and they should not enter a railway restaurant. . . It is Lord Milner of the Honourable House of Parliament that has done all this. . . An Indian ought not to keep a shop and trade in the bazaar. When the British Government itself has enacted such unjust laws, need we ask what the condition of the Indians in other countries may be. . . Mr.Gandhi's son himself was illtreated by the guard of a train. He became a Panchama in the British Empire. Which son of India will not be provoked by this. Witnessing several such incidents Mr.Andrews asks the Indians, "Are you prepared to continue to be slaves under the British for ever? . . . Should you not say 'we don't want the British Government if such things continue'?" A life without SWARAJ is not worth living. The British people are not mad to make a free gift of SWARAJ to you. Nor have they said that they have done so. . . Adopt non-co-operation until you obtain SWARAJ and co-operate with the Congress unselfishly and keep to the path of SATYA (virtue).

The Hindu Panchamas and the world Panchamas

60. Referring to the Government of India's resolution on 'non-co-operation', the BARATHA MATHA, of the 17th November (received on the 29th), observes in its leader to the following effect:--. . . No liberal spirit is found in it which

Government's view on non-co-operation

NCS

can make the despondent Indians feel contented and hopeful. The authorities who issued it were simply satisfied with merely finding fault with the movement and admonishing those who adopted it and with throwing the burden of checking it on the moderates. But they did not even make mention of the causes which led to the movement. Can there be any effect without a cause? . . . Were they at least able to please the moderates? No. The remarks of Mr.Setalvad, a well-known moderate, and the observations of the LEADER on the subject are examples to the point. . . Unless the root causes are removed, ~~the subject are examples to~~ neither the moderates nor even God can oppose the reasonable contention of the people. For it is not God's DHARMA and therefore not a King's DHARMA to do so. It is well that the Government should try to do justice, after re-examining the whole matter calmly.

Can India defend herself?

61. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 14th December, in the course of a leading article affirming that the Indians have all along shown their capacity for self-defence and that it is only after the advent of the British that they lost all their martial spirit, remarks:--Some autocrats impertinently ask whether India is in a position to defend herself. The past history of India gives a fitting reply to this question. What has now been the fate of the Emperor of Germany, who, being obsessed with the idea of world-suzerainty, equipped his country with all kinds of destructive armaments unknown and unheard of by other nations? The civil and military resources of only those nations which are righteous will be of avail to them, while those of the unrighteous will only land them in disaster. The autocrats should realize this principle and carry it into practice. The Indians were certainly experts in military science. They lost their martial spirit by reason of their being kept disarmed after the advent of the British into this country. There is no doubt that India will once again turn out excellent soldiers in no way inferior to European

soldiers even with a training of barely three or four months.

62. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 14th December, in the course of a contributed article attributing the miserable condition of India partly to some of the Indians who are traitors to their motherland and partly to the British, observes:--

The miserable condition of India

It is a sorrowful sight to see some of our own people desiring to bind themselves with fetter when the autocratic authorities are trying to keep us in perpetual bondage by their policy of 'divide and rule'. The millennium is in sight. The God Almighty has created Mr.Gandhi to dispense unerring justice. Seven crores of Indians have now become Gandhis (i.e. become his disciples)..All the thirty-one crores of our people should become Gandhis. Those authorities and institutions that poison the springs of truth and righteousness should be boycotted, as also all those that declare this boycott to be wrong. Such a boycott has already begun. The fate of our country will be decided at the next session of the National Congress. We hope that the Congress, the Government of India and the British Government will rise to the occasion and raise this land from the mire of misery.

63. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 14th December, in the course of an English article, commending the views about India expressed by Mr.Spoor in his foreword to a pamphlet prepared by the Congress deputation, observes:--"It seems to us that the majority of the British people are of the stamp of Mr.Spoor and if the jingoism that obtains in India is brought home to them, we may safely expect that they will support the Congress demands and leave no stone unturned to strengthen the bonds which, by the stupidity of some Anglo-Indians in India, are about to be rudely snapped. There are some blind people who think that they can make short work of 317 millions ~~of~~ of India by the reckless use of bombs, aeroplanes, machine-

Mr.Spoor on Britain's duty

MR

guns, etc. If there were truth in it, the Czar of Russia or the Kaiser of Germany would have been today an Almighty dictator of the world's policy. Interested brutes may dictate a policy, but there is a higher being in whose hands lies the disposal of the policy. Men like Mr.Spoor are the salt of England. We have reason to think that the Labour Party of England has the future of England in its hands. It is a party that is not spoiled by the deleterious alcohol of power and pelf. It is gratifying to note that that party has delegated Mr.Spoor to visit the Nagpur Congress, obtain first-hand information of its activities and convey to England India's message. India is prepared to have self-government or SWARAJ in the British Empire. But if England persists in keeping it in a state of bondage, it is likely that the standard of SATYAGRAHA hoisted by Mr. Gandhi will be planted on Mount Everest to show to the world that the highest mountain in the world bears a flag which indicates the determination of the Indians to rise to the level of their noble traditions and to submit no longer to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country for the benefit of a few un-British insulars in India."

66. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 14th December, in itscolumn of 'Karnataka news', observes:--

Students and non-co-operation

Though, after the advent of the British, many reforms were introduced in Coorg, which, it is said, was in days gone by groaning under the autocratic sway of its national kings, it appears that the Commissioner of Coorg has, even in these days of political progress, ordered that students should not have any discourse on non-co-operation. Why was such an order issued when we do not find the like of it elsewhere? It is surprising that the Commissioner should have thought that only by preventing such discourses, loyalty and everlasting peace will abide in the country.

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70. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 6th December, in a leader on this subject, writes:--

Political blandishments.

Britain's policy is causing unrest in the East and in India, and unless the British Cabinet changes its policy the very term tranquillity will be synonymous with fraud and frivolity. It is not the object of the Nationalists that the British should leave India bag and baggage. Such ideas occur to Englishmen of Gladstonieur type.

The writer, referring to Colonel Wedgwood's criticisms on the subject of Non-co-operation in which he advises Muhammadans to avoid manifesting hatred towards the English or harbouring such feelings in their minds, remarks:--We are axxx ashamed that our friend shows himself lamentably lacking in decency to proffer such advice. He is a member of that class of people who openly hate the Turks and regard them with contempt. He is a member of that Government with whom hatred of the Turk is a cardinal principle in the making of peace.

Though we differ in religion from Christians and regard them as infidels, in fact consider them to be polytheists, the Cross unlawful and the New Testament as not genuine, still we eat with them and marry their daughters. Can Colonel Wedg-wood show that we have ever expressed hatred of the English? On the other hand, we find that Indians are not given a seat with them, nor are they admitted to their clubs or places of recreation. The best proof of their hatred may be deduced from the fact that they travel in separate railway compartments. Sometimes we find no Indian is allowed to enter a third-class compartment reserved for Europeans and Eurasians even when they are running empty. Is this not hatred of Indians?

Has Colonel Wedgwood seen anywhere in Europe a compartment in German Railway carriage reserved for Germans from which the French, English and Russians are excluded? Further, we ask our friend if he has ever seen any Turkish Railway compartment being reserved for them? Do the Turks express any feelings of national antipathy towards the English, or did the former

ever declare that the English should leave Egypt, Beyrout and the Persian Gulf bag and baggage in retaliation for Mr.Gladston'e teachings to the English to hate the Turks? Can the Colonel prove that our learned men and national leaders ever give instructions to Indians to hate the English? If he has got eyes, he may observe that even latrines, at Railway stations, are reserved for Europeans, and special seats are reserved for them in theatres. The sole object of non-co-operation is to remove this hatred from the minds of English people and to show them that they cannot get along without us.

IV.NATIVE STATES.

Autocracy in Native States

71. Remarking that it is well known that some high-handed acts are often committed in Native States, either because of the close political relationship existing between them and the Government of India, or of the unbounded loyalty of the Native chiefs, or of their love for absolute power, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th December, refers to the Gwalior Darbar having prohibited a vakil of the State named Devi Dyal collecting subscriptions for the Jallianwalla memorial, when subscriptions are being freely collected in British India for the purpose, and remarks that certain Native chiefs illtreat their subjects, even without the aid of repressive measures, perhaps with a view to court the favour of the Government of India!

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th December, also refers to the same subject and observes that, though the administration of Native States is commonly believed to be guided only by the wishes of the respective chiefs, it is no exaggeration to say that these chiefs conduct their administration only in such a manner as to satisfy the British officials to some extent.

For the week ending 25th December 1920

No. 52 of 1920

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Disturbances in the Fiji Islands

2. Reproducing in Tamil an extract from a letter received by Mr.Andrews attributing these disturbances primarily to an altercation between a woman and a European constable which ended in the latter striking the woman with his baton on her head and making her fall on the ground, and in the onlookers belabouring the constable with the result that the Police appeared on the scene immediately with machine guns the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th December, asks whether it is to a woman that a person should exhibit his valour and wonders if this is also high European civilization.

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The paper also publishes an extract from another letter received by Mr.Andrews, which refers to the hardships suffered by Indian women in the Fiji Islands and the atrocities committed by the soldiers when Martial Law was in force there and observes:--It is stated that the authorities in the Fiji Islands are swayed only by racial arrogance and by the words of the European capitalists. While capitalists and others who have made a mint of money through our labour and are thereby rolling in wealth and arrogance are thus harassing our people there and while the British Government are indifferent in the matter, it is but natural for Mr.Andrews to ask whether the Congress should still wish to obtain SWARAJ under the British Empire and to suggest the desirability of its demanding complete SWARAJ.

Indians in the Fiji

4. Referring to the disabilities of the Indians in the Fiji Islands, the HITAKARINI, of the 6th December, says:-

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The pride of authority having overwhelmed the rulers there, they have forgotten the principle ofuniversal brotherhood and have begun to curb the Indians. They committed horrors like

those of the Punjab. The Government of India not being free could not take any drastic steps. The reason of this evil is that India is not independent. Can the Legislative Councils pass a law based on the principle of reciprocity, affording to the colonials in India the same treatment that they give to the Indians in their countries?

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

Non-Brahmans and the Educational Department

8. Referring to a recent advertisement by the Director of Public Instruction inviting applications from non-Brahmans L.T's for certain appointments in the Educational Department, the DRAVIDAN, of the 15th December, observes:--It is now clear to every one that, because of the excessive influence wielded by the selfish Brahmans in this department, adequate help has not been rendered to the public in regard to education and that michief also is caused to them. When the Government have come forward to do justice, realizing the truth, Brahman papers like the SWADESAMITRAN take exception to this advertisement and state that selection should be made on proper educational qualifications and efficiency. Perhaps these papers consider that non-Brahmans lack the required educational qualifications and efficiency, and that it is only the Brahmans that are learned! Let not the Director of Public Instruction be led away by these deceptive words.

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Students and SWARAJ

9. Referring to the proposed procession of the students in Madras on the 18th December, 1920, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th idem, writes:--It is incumbent on the part of the students, who form the future generation of India, to display their desire for SWARAJ in this manner. According to history, the progress of every country in the world is due to the active efforts of students. Our students should realise this well and not spend their time in vain. It is not proper that they should be made to continue in the present-day schools in spite of

the fact that everybody has realised very well that the education imparted therein engenders only a slavish feeling. The object of the students in conducting a procession to-morrow is to infuse enthusiasm in the minds of students themselves and promote union among them. We request every student in Madras to celebrate this day as an auspicious one.

(k) General

Lord Chelmsford and his diciple

18. The TAMIL NADU, of the 12th December, writes:--Lord Chelmsford has a disciple who excels his preceptor and he is now the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. In a speech delivered by him recently, he declared that no other Viceroy had maintained the policy of the British Empire in India as well as Lord Chelmsford. Let His Lordship have this praise at least. Who else would appreciate him! The disciple also preached, on this occasion, a sermon against non-co-operation remarking that, if by adopting this principle, the ladder of British authority is kicked off while one is only half way up in it, one cannot reach the fruit of Home Rule at the top. What a beautiful simile! This disciple forgot that the ladder should have a ground to stand on. If the ground of India ceases to be, the grandeur of the British ladder will disappear and it will become but a 'pillow without cotton'. He has stated that, as long as he and his preceptor are in Burma and India, no fear need be entertained of the condition of these two countries. True. As long as these continue, there will be no one to question, whatever may be the frequency of massacres like that of the Punjab and the ~~remain~~ agitation of the sons of Bharata will not lead to Home Rule. But these cannot remain here for long! Lord Chelmsford is to go shortly and he will be followed by his disciple. Then it is only the Indians and the Burmese that will remain in India and Burma.

19. Remarking that its suspicion against Sir Valentine Chirol is getting strengthened by the newspapers of Northern India frequently referring to his being the guest at the Government House wherever he goes and to his idea of writing in detail to the LONDON TIMES about the situation in India, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th December, observes:--We do not definitely know whether he has come to India of his own accord on a philanthropic mission or at the instance of the Government. Seeing that he is entertained at Government cost, we have a right to ask if it is proper to lavish Indian money upon one who is an open enemy to India's aspirations. Even during his former visit to India he was given all facilities to know enough of official secrets. It is widely known that the Government of Bombay equipped him fully to win in the case of Mr.Tilak. We ask whether, under such circumstances, he should visit India again to work against our interests and consume our money also. There will be no objection to his enjoying himself at the personal expense of the Governors. For everything, it will be well if the public are apprised of the correct particulars regarding him.

Sir Valentine Chirol

22. Remarking that, though it will take time to see if the view of the moderates, that the people will get responsible government as a result of the reforms, will prove correct, the prediction of the nationalists that the reforms will certainly enable Indians to get a number of posts and help many families to live happily, has truly come to pass, as can be seen from the large number of new appointments created, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th December, refers to the increase in the number of members on the Executive Council and observes:-- The work that was done by two members before the Minto-Morley reforms has been done by three after them. As the Madras Presidency has not increased in its area or as no new department has come into existence since then, we can take it that

The first fruits of reforms

there is work only for three members. But, as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, there are to be four members of the Council and three Ministers. Thus the work that has till now been attended to by three will be done hereafter by seven who will each have his own office and a '~~Counn~~ 'Council Under Secretary' with a separate establishment. In the British Parliament, every Minister has his own Parliamentary Under Secretary, but the latter has neither an office nor an establishment of his own. He has to obtain the required information only from the office of the Ministers. While so, we cannot understand why the Council Under Secretaries here should have separate offices. A separate office for each of the new officers would mean a great deal of expenditure and this Presidency should be considered fortunate if this expenditure and ~~this Presidency should be considered f fortunate if this expenditure~~ does not exceed 10 lakhs of rupees a year. Even when the above establishments were recommended by the Joint Committee, we pointed out that huge expenditure would be incurred as the first fruit of the reforms. The non-co-operation movement having paralyzed all political work, it has made it impossible for the ~~xx~~ nationalist party to do anything to prevent this. The moderates who are not bound by the principle of non-co-operation did not strongly object to such an extravagant expenditure of the money of the poor as their only aim was high posts and status. It is just to collect as taxes only as much as is necessary for the expenses of the Government. It is because more than what is actually required is collected and the balance on land is not spent for the benefit of the people, there is a temptation to indulge in luxurious expenditure. While the appointment of Ministers should lessen the expenditure of the executive and improve education, sanitation, industry, etc., it only increases tenfold the expenditure of the Government.

Cong

The Nagpur session of the Congress and the Muslim League

24. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th December, writes:--It is the primary duty of the non-co-operators to make the

Nagpur Session of the Congress a success. If this session does not adopt IN TO TO the resolutions of the Calcutta session in regard to non-co-operation and guide the country, the day of the acquisition of SWARAJ by India will have to be postponed. Therefore, those who wish to acquire SWARAJ at an early date, should attend the Nagpur session in large numbers, support the resolution on non-co-operation and safeguard the prestige of the Congress.

We want all sincere Mussalmans to attend the session of the All-India Muslim League to be held at Nagpur along with the Congress, express their feelings in regard to the Khilafat question, and adopt the measures suggested by Mr.Gandhi for getting their grievances redressed. If the Mussalmans fail to come forward at this juncture, it is certain that the Muhammadan Empire, which once commanded much influence in the world, will fall even from the present low condition to which it has been reduced and will sink into oblivion. So let the Indian Muslims avoid giving room for such a situation and, attending the session of the League, infuse a new spirit in the country by carrying out the non-co-operation resolution.

The editor of the TRIBUTE

25. Referring to the dismissal by the Privy Council of the appeal of Mr.Kalinath Roy, the editor of the TRIBUNE, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th December, observes:--Innumerable instances can be quoted to show that, in cases in which the whites and the blacks are involved, justice cannot be had even in the Privy Council, which is deemed to be the highest tribunal. How did the Tilak-Chirol case end? Kalinath Roy's case has shared the same fate. It looks as if it is hard at present to obtain justice in any court in the world in cases between the whites and the blacks.

26. Remarking that the voters who exercised their franchise at the recent elections are sure to get disappointed in their expectation of benefits to the country through the candidates for whom they voted, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th December, observes:--As we have already pointed out, the expenses of the Madras Government are increasing under the reforms as far as the new officers are concerned. Whatever may be the nature of the reforms granted to India by the British Government, they take care to see that the number and influence of the European officials do not suffer thereby. To the new posts created in consequence of the reforms they appoint some Indians and make provision for the appointment of Europeans as well. So far as the Government are concerned, this affords three kinds of advantages. This creates satisfaction to the people, who would think that high posts have been given to Indians, ~~secures an increase in the number of that high posts have been given to Indians~~, secures an increase in the number of European officials and does not affect their present status and pay in spite of the decrease in their work and responsibility. Increase in the number of Members of decrease in their work and responsibility. Increase in the number of Members of the Executive Council necessarily involves an increase in the strength of the subordinate staff and in this connexion posts such as Assistant Secretaries and Under Secretaries are created for Europeans. Some of our people are only dancing with joy at the fact that an Indian has secured a high post but do not consider for a moment whether, as a result of this, any reduction either in the European element or in the expenditure of the Government has been effected. Let our friends realise for themselves the enormous expenditure consequent on the appointment of four Executive Councillors and three Ministers on a salary of Rs.64,000 each a year and the cost to be incurred on account of the subordinate staff to be appointed under them. Expenses will be on the increase as the

The result of the new reforms

introduction of the reforms goes on. To meet this expenditure fresh taxes will have to be levied. This x is all the result of the reforms. Further in India, even useless officers are being paid thousands of rupees and the difference between the salaries paid to high officials in India and those in Japan is noteworthy. The Chief Justice in Japan gets a salary of Rs.750 a month, while the same official in Madras gets Rs.5,000. It only provokes laughter in us to see that the Civilian officials drawing high salaries in India should have raised an agitation that xnd their salaries are inadequate.

The new reforms.

Adverting to the introduction of the new reforms in the Madras Presidency on the 17th December, 1920, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th idem, remarks that those who are in the good graces of the new ministers will get new appointments and be delighted xnd with these, that the moderates will congratulate Mr.Montagu on the reforms having come into effect, that the JUSTICE party will get elated at the liberality of the British Government and that the party of Mrs.Besant will cheer up the new council members by saying that the acceptance of the present reforms paves the way for getting more and observes:--But those, who are acquainted with the real condition of mother Bharata, those that consider India's honour to be above everything, those that have a high sense of self-respect, will be grieved at the introduction of these reforms, and will feel sorry for the members of the new Legislative Council. Even these useless reforms have not been granted by the English Government as an act of kindness towards us. India has spent many ki lakhs of rupees and sacrificed many lives for the sake of these paltry reforms. Enormous expenditure has been incurred in consequence of these reforms in connexion with the tours of Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in India, the deputation of many representative bodies to England, the tour of the Southborough Committee throughout India, the erection of new Council Chambers in different provinces, the appointment of an Advisory

Board to the Government of India and the creation of a separate Secretariat and staff in each province. Substantial increase of pay has been granted to the civilians perhaps as a result of their agitation against the reforms. With such expenditure and pomp and puppet of reforms is granted to the Indians. Apart from this the military expenditure of the Government of India and other unnecessary items of expenditure go on increasing year after year. What is it that induced the British Government to be kind enough to grant such meagre reforms to India? As in the great war that was going on for four years and a half, India freely shed her blood and contributed crores of rupees the British Government remembered her. France and the cold tracts of Europe, that the British ministers had the kindness to make known the aim of the British rule in India. So it is but proper that the sacrifice made by India for the sake of the world war should be taken as the basis of the reforms which now come into effect with such a heavy expenditure? It is no other than the tax-payer. Is he prepared to bear it? Are not disease, hunger and poverty, which already afflict our country, enough? Is additional taxation too needed?

27. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th December, writes:--

Mr.Curtis and the Europeans in India

The cleverness of the Secretary of State for India will be appreciated by many, if he accepts the new suggestions of Mr. Lionel Curtis with the same eagerness with which he accepted the dual system of administration in India which was suggested in the beginning by Mr.Curtis. In the preface to his recent work on Diarchy, Mr.Curtis has stated that the Europeans who conduct themselves with racial arrogance in India should be sent out of the country. But who is going to pay heed to this suggestion? Though, the other day, the students in Meerut were severally thrashed with a horse whip by Sergeant Davis, the Magistrate fined him only Rs.15. We have repeatedly pointed out that European Judges in India out of racial sympathy, award lenient punishments to European offenders. We are afraid that

the best efforts of Mr.Curtis to stop this practice will be of no avail. We wish he would understand that, unless the attitude of the Government is thoroughly changed, there is no chance for the Indians to expect any kind of justice.

Adverting to the observation of Mr.Curtis in his book on Diarchy, that the discontent of the Indians is chiefly due to the low treatment accorded to them by the Europeans, and adverting also to the reply thereto by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the subsequent retort of Mr.Curtis, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th December, observes:--Sir Michael O'Dwyer is under a glamour when he says that Europeans never treat the Indians meanly. Is any proof, other than the demoniae actions of Dyer, needed to show that Indian lives are held very cheap by the Europeans? Are not the actions of 'great men' like Colonel Johnson and Mr.Bosworth Smith enough to show that Europeans think low of the Indians? Need we quote instances to prove that in the law courts in India the cases between Europeans and Indians lay bare the disparity in status between the two? It is still fresh in the memory of the Indians how a Muhajir, who left for Afghanistan out of religious considerations, was killed by an English soldier and how the latter was since acquitted. Was not the European granted pardon, who is said to have shot a coolie girl by mistake? How can we forget the case in Tanjore in which a civilian assaulted a postal peon and the latter was made to pay compensation to the civilian? How many more instances of the kind are needed? Would such incidents have occurred by for the impression that Indians are inferior to Europeans? Why did not Lord Chelmsford, who evinced sympathy for the seven Europeans that lost their lives in the Punjab last year, utter a word of sympathy for the hundreds of Indians who fell victims there? What do all these indicate? Would these have transpired, had India acquired SWARAJ.

29. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th December, writes:--

The lot of political agitators in India

The political agitators, who toil for public good in this land of Bharata which is under a foreign yoke, are being blamed for everything. They are an eye-sore to our Anglo-Indian friends and to the members of the bureaucracy. It is no exaggeration to say that some will not hesitate even to do away with these political agitators if an opportunity presents itself. The whole world knows how the Indian labourers are crying for food on account of the high prices and inadequate salaries. And yet some persons are writing from here to newspapers in London that the labourers will be contented but for the interference of the political agitators. We do not think that the clamour and mischief of these persons will cease, until the Indians acquire SWARAJ.

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34. Reproducing in Tamil an extract from the LONDON

Christian Missionaries.

TIMES, which contains an observation to the effect that it should be the primary object of the Christian Missionaries to afford as much training to the Christian community in India as would enable them to make the people of the country embrace the Christian faith of their own accord and remarking that, if there are any who are still under the illusion that the Missionaries are actuated by sincere philanthrophic motives in their efforts to spread education in this country, they can very well understand from this the object of these Missionaries and the devices adopted by them for the fulfilment of the same, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th December, observes:-- This is why Christian Missionaries are obstinate in refusing to introduce the principle of conscience in the matter of imparting religious instruction in their schools. Many are now led to think that it is only on account of this special concessions have been allowed to a certain extent to the Christian Missionaries in the Elementary Education Act recently passed in Madras.

Communal

37. The SWADESAMITRAN, ~~of the~~ and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th December, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 15th idem protesting against the action of the Police in having opened fire at the workmen of the Buckingham Mills.

The shooting of the labourers of the Buckingham Mills

Referring to the communique issued by the Government eulogising the action of the Police in the above incident and also to the report submitted by the Commissioner of Police to the Government on the subject, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th December, observes:--These reports do not surprise us in the least. The adage, that birds of a feather flock together, has been current in our country for a long time. Why should we, who have understood the significance of this saying, feel surprised at the attitude of the bureaucracy in Madras? But we feel very much for Lord Willingdon because of the speeches he has made very often. He belongs to the "Liberal" Party in England, is a humorous speaker and is known to have good experience in Indian administration. He has often proclaimed in his speeches that his sympathies are with the poor and that his duty is to deal impartially with all. However we are sorry to learn that the very same Lord Willingdon, who sympathises with the labourers, is mainly responsible for the present communique. We openly assert that this communique is one-sided and is calculated to increase the discontent already existing in the minds of the public and chiefly in the minds of the labourers. A Judge in his seat is bound to hear both the parties before pronouncing his judgment. In this matter the Governor of Madras ought to occupy the same position and come to a decision only after hearing those who shot and those who were shot. But Lord Willingdon, without doing so, came to a decision after hearing the version only of the Police. He not only approves of, but also applauds, their actions. It is stated that the Police used their rifles out of self-defence unable to bear the pelting of stones by the people. It is

not known what administrative policy prescribes rifle-shots for warding off the pelting of stones. Lord Willingdon also supports this policy. But he is not to blame; his position is such; the bureaucrats surrounding him are of that stamp. Perhaps, the bureaucracy, the lovers of power, adopted this policy for maintaining their status and prestige. The shooting incident which took place on the 9th instant and the favour it finds with the bureaucracy, make every one think that Dyer is hiding in the body of every white man in India.

Referring to a statement made by Mr.Wadia at the public meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 15th December 1920, that that his telegram to Mr.George Lansbury regarding this shooting incident was stopped by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th December, observes:--We strongly condemn this high-handed act on the part of the Government of Willingdon. This makes us remark that, in the matter of screening facts, this Government has begun to adopt the same policy which was adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in regard to the details connected with the Punjab massacre. We would like to warn Lord Willingdon who countenances such a policy. Truly this is a great fall for Lord Willingdon, whom we really pity. We remind him that this is the twentieth century.

The shooting of the labourers of the Buckingham Mills

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th December, in a lengthy leader on the subject, makes the following observations among others:--The whole City of Madras is immersed in grief at the death of the two labourers and at the serious wounds caused to others by the shooting of the Police on the 9th idem. The public meeting to be held today on the Madras Beach should consider whether the Police can take away the lives of the Indians so easily, whether, when such deaths have been caused, it is proper for the Government to be so careless and indifferent and what the people should di do for preventing the recurrences of such incidents, and come

~~to-a-prop~~ to a proper conclusion which will be acceptable to the people. If we treat this matter indifferently and pass only nominal resolutions at the meeting, the feeling that Indian lives are very cheap, will become impressed all the more deeply in the minds of the bureaucrats and the whites in this country. It is certain that the present incidents would not have occurred had the agitation regarding the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre been adequate. It is because that, in spite of this massacre, popular leaders did not stand together and strongly agitate for our rights but became divided into separate parties, the arrogance and indifference of the bureaucrats continue as of old. Dispelling ordinary crowd by the use of fire-arms is a thing unknown under any Government prior to the British rule. If there should be any cause for discontent among the people, the Government conducted by their own race will at once send officials, who are popular, to ascertain their grievances and redress them properly. But though for the last nearly two months, the labourers in the Buckingham Mills have, as alleged by them, been unjustly kept out of work, the Government of Madras have not ascertained their grievances and effected a compromise between the labourers and their employers. Instead of doing this, they have been giving Police aid to the mill authorities. Such regrettable incidents often occur, only because the Government consider that their only duty in these circumstances is to prevent the occurrence of any disturbance. Therefore the public meeting should, besides passing resolutions on this particular incident, also pass such resolutions as will effect a change in the attitude of the Government and see that those resolutions are carried out. Further, though the Government ~~and see that~~ may make arrangements for conducting an inquiry about this incident by means of a committee, it is absolutely necessary that the public of Madras also should institute a committee of their own and have the matter thoroughly investigated. There is no need to urge the importance of this on those who have carefully weighed the relative merits of the report of the Hunter Committee and that of the Congress Sub-Committee.

38. The HITAKARINI, of the 6th December, criticises the views of Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar on non-co-operation

Non-co-operation

and remarking that non-co-operation is a thousand times conducive to our welfare, supports it but advises x students to respect the views of Doctor Subrahmanya Ayyar on non-co-operation so far as it relates to schools.

The same paper refers to the adverse remarks of Colonel Wedgwood on non-co-operation and says:--He stated that in the absence of co-operation on the part of the authorities, the people will not co-operate with the Government. He stated the truth when he described how the Punjab Government have rendered the reforms ineffective. May Colonel Wedgwood make the British democracy understand that, when the Government of India declare that in return for the good they do to the Indians, the latter rise in revolt against them and try to upset the Empire, they do so to conceal the truth, to strengthen their authority and to curb the people. Colonel Wedgwood says that the non-co-operation movement is characterised by hatred. But the fact is that one who is given to hatred cannot be a non-co-operationist. Colonel Wedgwood suggested that an agreement between the rulers and the ruled, in which some higher authority than the Government fixes the period within which ~~xxxx~~ the Indians should be granted SWARAJ, may avert revolution and bloodshed. But history shows how far the officers have carried out the pledges of the sovereigns. The Indians have lost all faith in the British. They know that when the Ministers transgress the proclamations of ~~the~~ the Emperor, the latter cannot do anything. Committees and agreements will not bring about any reconciliation between the Indians and the rulers. The only way to effect it is action. The British will be responsible for the results. Colonel Wedgwood says that if the British do not consent to the terms of the proposed agreement, the Labour party will then help the Indians. But what help did they render to the Irish, their neighbours? They are helplessly looking on them. The Indians will no more depend upon promises

and listen to vain talk. Colonel Wedgwood can only do the kindness of intimating to the British democracy the distrust of the Indians and its probable results to the British Empire. That he can do more is only a delusion.

Non-co-operation

The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 20th November, publishes a summary of the speech delivered at Tirupati on 14th November 1920 By Mr.Konda Venkatappiah on 'Non-co-operation'.

Non-co-operation

The TYOTPATRIKA, of the 28th November, refers in its leader to the fact that, even among the nationalists many have not boycotted the Legislative Councils and that even in the Punjab as many as twelve candidates stood for election for each seat in the council, expresses its doubt that the 'non-co-operation' will not be very successful and that it may also lead to the postponment of the grant of SWARAJ by the English on the ground that the people are not yet fit for it, and finally advises the ryots of the Guntur district to take part in the elections.

Non-co-operation

Adverting to the statement in the note of the Government of India on the subject of non-co-operation that repressive measures will not be adopted until they are found absolutely necessary for the preservation of public safety, the MANORAMA, of the 12th November, asks whether the prohibition of public meetings in the Punjab, the application of the Press Act to the nationalist papers, etc., are not parts of a policy of repression and observes:--The Government do not consider what it is that has forced all patriotic people to resort to non-co-operation. Had they only found this out and applied the proper remedy, all the people in India would have co-operated with the Government and would have sung the praises of the Government for all time.

Non-co-operation

Under the heading 'Who will co-operate' the KANTHIRAVA, of the 21st December, publishes a vigorously-worded leading

article, wherein, the following remarks appear:--In spite of so much progress made by the non-co-operation movement, Government have not relented, and have not redressed the popular grievances, in the hope, perhaps, that the movement would collapse sooner or latter and that normal relations would be established over again. . . . But is this likely? . . . We do not say that we have derived no benefits whatever through the British rule; but the benefits so conferred were not due to any generosity on the part of the British towards us, but only to achieve their own ends. A country can be kept under subjection and exploited with success only by maintaining internal peace and order, by improving the means of transport, by spreading education and such other various means. All this the British have done for India; but how many ~~virility has been lo~~ evils have not followed in their wake? With the prevailing internal peace our virility has been lost; and the railways have ruined our industries, spread infectious diseases all over the country and have enabled food grains to be exported to foreign countries on a large scale. The English education imparted ~~judicial system~~ to us has been helpful only to teach us the science of slavery; and the British judicial system has but increased the number of suits and has ruined innumerable families. Not once have our rulers stood between us and the selfish actions of the Britons at home. Even the present reforms were granted to us by the rulers only to save themselves from tha taunts of the civilised world. In short, we affirm over and over again that, in all important political matters, our aims are opposed to those of our rulers. How can there be any co-operation, then, between the two? The rulers can expect to have co-operation only from their subordinate officials and none else. . .

The chief aim of the Government of India is to afford facilities for exploitation and amassing of wealth to their own people, as far as possible, and to keep our aspirations under check. We, on the other hand, want fiscal as well as political autonomy at the earliest possible date. It is thus clear that there can be no co-operation between us two in

~~between-us-tw--~~ essential matters. Only those who will feel contented with the small crumbs thrown by the rulers, who do not see any national dishonour in the Punjab atrocities, who are prepared to put up with any amount of disgrace at their hands for the sake of the advancement of their country, will perhaps, co-operate hereafter with the British in matters of minor importance.

Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine

42. A correspondent to the DEENABANDHU, of the 15th November, gives a dialogue between a father and a daughter wherein the daughter refers to the Punjab events and pleads for 'non-co-operation' in all its stages and remarks: "I believe that it is proper that we refrain from giving any help whatever to this merciless Government. What happened to the people of the Punjab to-day may happen to us to-morrow.

The Congress decision

47. Referring to the untiring efforts of some of the nationalists to get the Calcutta Congress decision changed in the coming Nagpur session, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th December, observes in its leader under this heading:-- . . .. Some of the nationalists say that the English education is the cause of the present national movement and that, ~~XXXXXXX~~ therefore, the Nagpur Congress should postpone the adoption of the non-co-operation movement so far as it relates to education. The Punjab misdeeds and the Khilafat question, and the preachings of Mr.Gandhi are the causes of the present awakening, and not the English education. There will not be much good done to the country by the educated people, unless the system of education is changed. . . They also say that, owing to the 'non-co-operation' movement, all political agitation has ceased and that no meetings are held to protest against the treatment of the Indians in the colonies, etc. . . Speeches are no longer required. How long are we to be crying out in this manner?. . . What is required at the present moment is not speech but action. People should be self-dependent. . .

The chief aim of Mr.Gandhi's programme is the manifestation of the capacity of the people. . . The nationalists also have a programme of their own, They say that the people should refuse to pay the taxes, and all Government servants should resign their posts when continuous agitation does not result in the attainment of SWARAJ.. . . If the educated people ~~first~~ first adopt the programme, they may carry it out peacefully. They may next lead the ordinary people in the right path. That was why Mr.Gandhi included matters relating to the educated in the first item of his programme and that of refusing to pay taxes in the last. . . The movement will gain strength if the lawyers renounce their profession. They will have more time to work for the cause of the people. . . Mr.Satyamoorthi asks if the grants given by the Government are not the people's money. If that is so, people must be at liberty to spend as much of it as they want, and to adopt any system of education they like. . . Until circumstances change, and the wishes of the people are fulfilled, the programme of the new movement cannot be altered. The boycott of elections has been most successful in the presidency on the whole. . . National schools are being established. Similarly will panchayats be constituted. This programme of work is making people very enthusiastic. Any other course will fail. (Here the paper gives in Telugu an extract from the speech of Mr.Gandhi by the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA to have been delivered by him at Calcutta, warning the people against the employment of any violence and assuring them that SWARAJ can be obtained by them within nine months if they observe his principle of non-co-operation).

Boycott of polling booths

52. Reminding the people of the approach of the 30th of November, the VENKATESA-PATRIKA, of the 27th November, exhorts the voters not to vote at the polling booths. . .

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The same paper tracing the demands of the Congress from the year 1885 down to the present times observes:--If the right of ~~the Congress~~ self-government has been really conceded to the

new Councils, why has the Government spent away unhesitatingly crores of rupees collected from the poor ryots in making large payments to European and Indian officers? Why has an enormous increase of the military expenditure been thought of? Why has it been decided, in passing the Elementary Education Act, to impose a fresh cess on land? Why has it been provided, in the amended Local Boards Act, to increase the house-tax and the income-tax in the villages? Why have crores of rupees been 'melted away' in the name of the Reverse Council Bills? Why have the Indians been sent to Persia and Arabia for waging war? The statement of the candidates that SWARAJ has been granted is false. It will be granted, they say, bit by bit, in a unique manner, whenever the English suppose that we are fit for it. Oh! Ye intelligent voters! Are you not Aryans? Where has your intelligence gone? Act wisely. Don't vote! Don't vote!!

Pilgrimage.

57. Anent the annual meeting of the Congress to be held at Nagpur the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th December, observes in its leader under this heading:--. . . The policy of the Congress underwent a complete change when it is met at Calcutta. The policy of mendicancy was entirely given up. . .Can freedom be obtained by making representations to the Parliament? Foreigners will never help you in the matter. Nor will India have anything to do with the violent methods obtaining in the west. The Goddess of Freedom is dancing before the eyes of the people. If they approach her reverently, she will surely grant their prayers. Self-sacrifice is the most important of all offerings to be made to her. Those who enjoy the bliss of self-sacrifice will get freedom. They will become conscious of their own abilities. . . The meeting of the Congress held at Calcutta brought out all the powers latent in the people. The new message of the Congress caused annoyance to those who had received English education and who were labouring under a delusion that they are free. They close their eyes not being able to see the sun of freedom, while the people in general, who are self-dependent,

are engaged in their own independent professions. They welcome Mr.Gandhi's message with all their heart. They have understood that his programme may be easily worked out. . . How can members of the Council who are discorded by 80 per cent of the voters call themselves the representatives of the people. The people are even proclaiming loudly that such members are not their representatives. Mr.Gandhi's message has moved the tender hearts of the students. . . National schools and panchayats are being established. If India adopts a non-violent policy and reaches the goal, the whole world will be surprised. She can then lead the whole world in the path of DHARMA. No offensive weapons will then be required. The League of Nations will prove to be a useful institution. Real co-operation will take the place of non-co-operation. What prevails now is only slavery and not co-operation. The people have realized this truth though the educated have not. They will go in large numbers to Nagpur to support Mr.Gandhi. To them there is no other pilgrimage more important than this. . . If Mr.Gandhi's teachings are put into practice by all the people, SWARAJ can surely be obtained before the Congress meets next year. . .

The Buckingham Mills' strike

58. Criticising the action of the Madras Police in firing on the strikers of the Buckingham mills, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 17th December, writes:--In reply to the circular issued by the Government of Madras alleging that the new employees of the mill that were being conveyed in motor-buses under Police escort were stoned at by the old employees, Mr.Wadia, on whom the blame for the strike has been thrust, has asked whether the police, on coming to know of this, had in any way forwarned the people. In this connexion some such considerations as the following do naturally arise. If the Managers of the mill wished to convey the new labourers on motor lorries with the assistance of the Police, it is clear that they had anticipated danger from the old employees. Is there any evidence for this? If so, was it not the duty of the Police to forewarn the public and the

a Labour Union regarding this matter? What were the grounds that made the Police to go to the scene fully armed? Did Madras ever witness such an occasion in the past? Was it not possible to scatter the crowd in any other way? Is there any regulations enjoining on the magistrate to read out the sections of the Riots Act to warn the crowd? Was there no sufficient time to enforce this regulation before firing was begun on a mere stone-throwing crowd? Did the new labourers, puffed up with pride of Government support, in any way provoke the hungry old labourers by using bad language? To what extent did the Police constables share in this? It is understood that an Indian committee will elicit all these points. The over-enthusiasm that is being displayed by officials of Government in proving to the people the might and power of Government, even on occasions of trivial disturbances, will, we are afraid, incite the people and give room for many more breaches of the peace.

Writing on the same subject, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 21st December, remarks:--It will be generations the Punjab incidents are forgotten by our people, and in the meanwhile a fresh tragedy has ended in the death of some of the labourers of the Buckingham Mills. Whoever may have been the stone-throwers and whatever the circumstances that led to the breach of peace, much fuss was made that it was a disloyal conspiracy, and firing was resorted to. Be the matter big or small, it has been a regular practice with our rulers in India to make use of pistols and thus 'establish peace in the land.'. This began with the Mutiny of 1858 and has ever remained a terrible principle with the power-intoxicated authorities. Perhaps this is the one rule that is capable of teaching wisdom to the sheep-like coloured people of Asia! This is perhaps the reason why every Englishman who comes to rule this uncivilized flock of people makes use of his official iron grip. But what will happen when such things take place in England and when the people there commit havoc, rebel and even bring about revolution? The civilized authorities use very means in their power to conciliate the enraged but civilized people and the guns only when the situation becomes unmanageable as in

Ireland. In the present case, it was neither a riot, nor a rebellion, nor can it be proved to be sedition. It was a mere quarrel between the owners of the mill and its labourers. Here a third party has intervened, pronounced it to be a breach of the peace and acted cruelly towards the labourers. This cannot but reflect on the Government of Lord Willingdon which was up till now running on smooth lines. We hope that His Excellency the Governor, who is famed for his sympathy for the people, will deal out justice and prevent misunderstanding between the Government and the people.

The future of the Congress

597. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 23rd December, in an English article under the head line 'The future of the Congress', observes to the following effect:--"Many Indian patriots are of opinion that SWARAJ is the legitimate aspiration, and non-co-operation is the only means for the attainment of it. In the light of this view, they propose changes in the constitution of the Congress. They want a national fund. They want national missionaries to popularize and spread the creed of the National Congress. They want national schools, national colleges and national universities. They want to hold village conferences, taluk conferences, district conferences and provincial conferences to spread broadcast the gospel of SWARAJ. They want to make this gospel the religion of India. They want to make the philosophy of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of the man the foundation of this new gospel. They want to have branches of the All-India Congress Committee in every village and in every town under the control of the All-India Congress Committee and the congress itself. These aspirations are very laudable, and if they are carried out they will doubtless bring SWARAJ within the range of practical politics before long. It is stated that Mr.Gandhi deserves to be the high priest of the Indian National Congress and that his non-co-operation should be implicitly obeyed and carried out, subject to the interpretations that he himself has tendered now and then. These interpretations go to

show that he is not an ultra-radical iconoclast as he is represented to be, but that he is a moderate of moderates with his gospel of non-violence or AHIMSA. His object is to obtain SWARAJ without the shedding of a single drop of Indian or British blood. He shows that it is not within the nature of British people to surrender their points unless the justice of the demand is brought home to them. It is for this purpose that he has hoisted his flag of non-co-operation. We do not think that his object in doing this is to found an Empire on the ruins of the British Empire. In the heart of his hearts, he would be content for a SWARAJ within the Empire, but he thinks as most of the Indians hold that most of the present-day British authorities are not reliable, that their solemn promises, proclamations and treaties are treated like so many scraps of paper and that, therefore, efforts should be made to make it impossible for them to go behind their promises. It is on this account that Mr.Gandhi and his men are so doggedly wedded to their gospel of non-co-operation. If the British Government and the Government of India show practically that they mean what they say, non-co-operation is bound to become a thing of the past. It is the duty of the British justice and fair-play and do all they can to restore this faith and make their empire endure for ever and ever."

Repression

60. The MANORAMA, of the 12th November, points out that European history is full of instances to show that the beginning of repression by the rulers with a view to uproot the aspirations of the people for political rights and privileges produces more harm than good, and that the effects of such a policy will only be temporary, refers to the political awakening in India and calls upon the rulers to consider whether it will not be rash on their part to try to suppress it with mechanical force. The love and hatred will reproduce itself, and that the duty of a good Government is to understand the real thoughts, and feelings of the people and to conduct the administration accordingly, and says:-- Is there any cause for the prevalence of discontent and unrest

in India at present? If so, what is its origin? Will the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme remove the root-cause? Is there any other cause, besides the one found out by the framers of the scheme, now affecting the people? The Government should carefully consider all these questions, and should immediately do the needful to restore peace and tranquillity amongst the people.

Mahatma Gandhi and non-co-operation

62. The MANORAMA, of the 3rd December, writes:--Considering the helplessness of the people and their want of union as well as the extraordinary strength of the Government, all will certainly agree that it is difficult for Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation to meet with success. But whether it turns out to be successful or not, nobody will doubt the excellence of the 'Mahatma's motive and his love for the country'. Nay, all admit that non-co-operation is only the outward manifestation of an intense inward pain and grave mistrust and apprehensions of the people. Hence even if he is defeated in his fight with an all powerful government, we do not think that it will be a great score for the Government. The majority of the people do not favour non-co-operation not because they think that it is a movement opposed to the Government, but because many doubt its practicability, while some others think that it is a line of treatment more dangerous than the disease itself. There is scarcely any one who does not think that the Government have by several ill-advised steps caused agitation and unrest amongst the people and that at present it is not possible for the Government and the people to take concerted action confiding in each other. Such a state of affairs is not at all conducive to the welfare of the people at large. We are of opinion that the Government are more responsible to discover a proper remedy for this evil. Mahatma Gandhi thinks that the result of the movement is so far encouraging, but he admits that it has not met with the success he expected.

63. In a note the MANORAMA, of the 10th December, writes:--

Non-co-operation by Anglo-Indians.

The apathy of the Europeans in India towards the elections has exhibited itself in Madras where out of the 1,489 voters only 132 have voted. Such non-co-operation on their part, ~~though~~ though not the result of Mahatma Gandhi's advice, is pregnant with meaning.

66. In the course of a leading article under the heading

The beginning of Reforms

'The beginning of Reforms' the MANORAMA, of the 17th December, points out that the increase in the number of members of the Executive Council and of the Ministry and the consequent enhancement of expenditure is contrary to the intention of the Reform Scheme and to the recommendations of the Joint Committee thereon which provided for only two members of the Council and two Ministers to start with, and that an increase in the number of members cannot be justified on the plea of efficiency, as ordinar experience shows that an unnecessary increase in the number of members will only increase the confusion in administration, and therefore calls upon His Excellency Lord Willingdon to reconsider the matter. The paper then refers to the correspondence that passed between His Excellency the Governor and Sir P.Tyagaraya Chetti regarding the election of Ministers, points out that the persons recommended by Mr.Chetti are members of the JUSTICE party which counts among its followers only a small section of non-Brahmans, asks why the Madras Government forgot persons of the standing and position of Messrs.Kesava Pillai and Krishna Nayar, who, in its opinion, are persons eminently fitted to serve as Ministers and observes that if the prestige and status of the Madras Government should not be stained the Governor should be in a position to refute the current rumour regarding the appointment of Ministers.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

78. Referring to the speeches said to have been made rec[ent]ly by the Maharaja of Naba[ha] and the Nawab of Malarkotla condemning non-co-operation, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th December, observes:--Native Chiefs would do well to refrain from speaking about political agitation in British India and, if they do speak, they should not be one-sided in the views they express. If they begin to speak with the object of pleasing the Provincial heads and winning their good will, no Indian can approve of it. But, what can they do? They can only condemn the agitation of the Indians; for we are not unaware of what their rights and privileges are and how they have to conduct themselves for preserving them.

Native Chiefs and Indian politics

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79. Referring to the circular said to have been issued by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior prohibiting his subjects from collecting any money for the Jallianwalla Bagh fund, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 21st December, in its 'Notes for the last week' observes:--Lakhs upon lakhs of rupees were collected in British India for this fund without any objection from any one. But to the dignity of the native Raja Saheb and his honourable Darbar this does not, for some unknown reason, appear to suit. Is it possible that he is afraid that the matter would reach the ears of the British rulers? If so, the verdict of those who have tasted independence would be that it is better to fearlessly rule over a forest than be governing a State in perpetual terror.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior's circular.

Genl

81. A Farman to the following effect addressed to the Qaumi Report received to-day:--

His Exalted Highness' Farman; National Schools approved

Genl

KING KOTHI. FARMAN.

Whereas the spirit of non-co-operation is increasing among students and under its influence they are boycotting

schools and colleges, it seems advisable to inform the Managers, Inspectors and teachers of all schools in the Hyderabad State that in the case of the students, who desire national instructions and own courses of study, they should, in consultation with the parents, hand over to such students all houses and buildings occupied by schools and colleges together with the furniture. All talukdars, jagirdars and landowners as well as pensioners are hereby informed that they should resume paying the monetary aid on account of their children which they had withheld because of their admission to national institutions, otherwise official steps will be taken to ensure payment. The Director of the Dar-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, is informed that I (the Nizam--Er) am in sympathy with the national spirit of the students.

From the month of Azur, Fusli, the grant to the Nudwal ul-Ulema has been increased by Rs.500 per mensem.

25th Rabi-ul-awal 1339 A.H.

(True c

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Nizam's Government

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